

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION: WHAT'S AHEAD?

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The American FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE



A. F. OF L. PRESIDENT MEANY URGES HIGHER PAY FOR UNCLE SAM'S EMPLOYEES. See Page 8

White-Collar Awakening
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Waterfront Miracle
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by Mark Starr

Words and Actions
by Arnold S. Zander

AND BE SURE TO READ HARRY C. BATES' ARTICLE ON HOUSING

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Frank Edwards went to Texas and California to cover the hot wetback story. The man at the left is a wetback who was picked up by the Border Patrol in a raid observed by Edwards (at right) during tour of Lower Rio Grande Valley. Here Edwards is looking at the man's paycheck—\$13 for a hard week's work.

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

MARCH, 1954

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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Citizenship

Among all the famous sayings of antiquity there is none that does greater honor to the author or affords greater pleasure to the reader—at least if he be a person of a generous and benevolent heart—than that of the philosopher who, being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was “a citizen of the world.”

How few are there to be found in modern times who can say the same or whose conduct is consistent with such a profession!

Let a man's birth be ever so high, his station ever so exalted or his fortune ever so large, yet if he is not free from national and other prejudices, I should make bold to tell him that he had a low and vulgar mind and had no just claim to the character of a gentleman. And, in fact, you will always find that those are most apt to boast of national merit who have little or no merit of their own to depend on.

Should it be alleged in defense of national prejudice that it is the natural and necessary growth of love to our country, and that therefore the former cannot be destroyed without hurting the latter, I answer that this is a gross fallacy and delusion. That it is the growth of love to our country I will allow, but that it is the *natural* and *necessary* growth of it I absolutely deny.

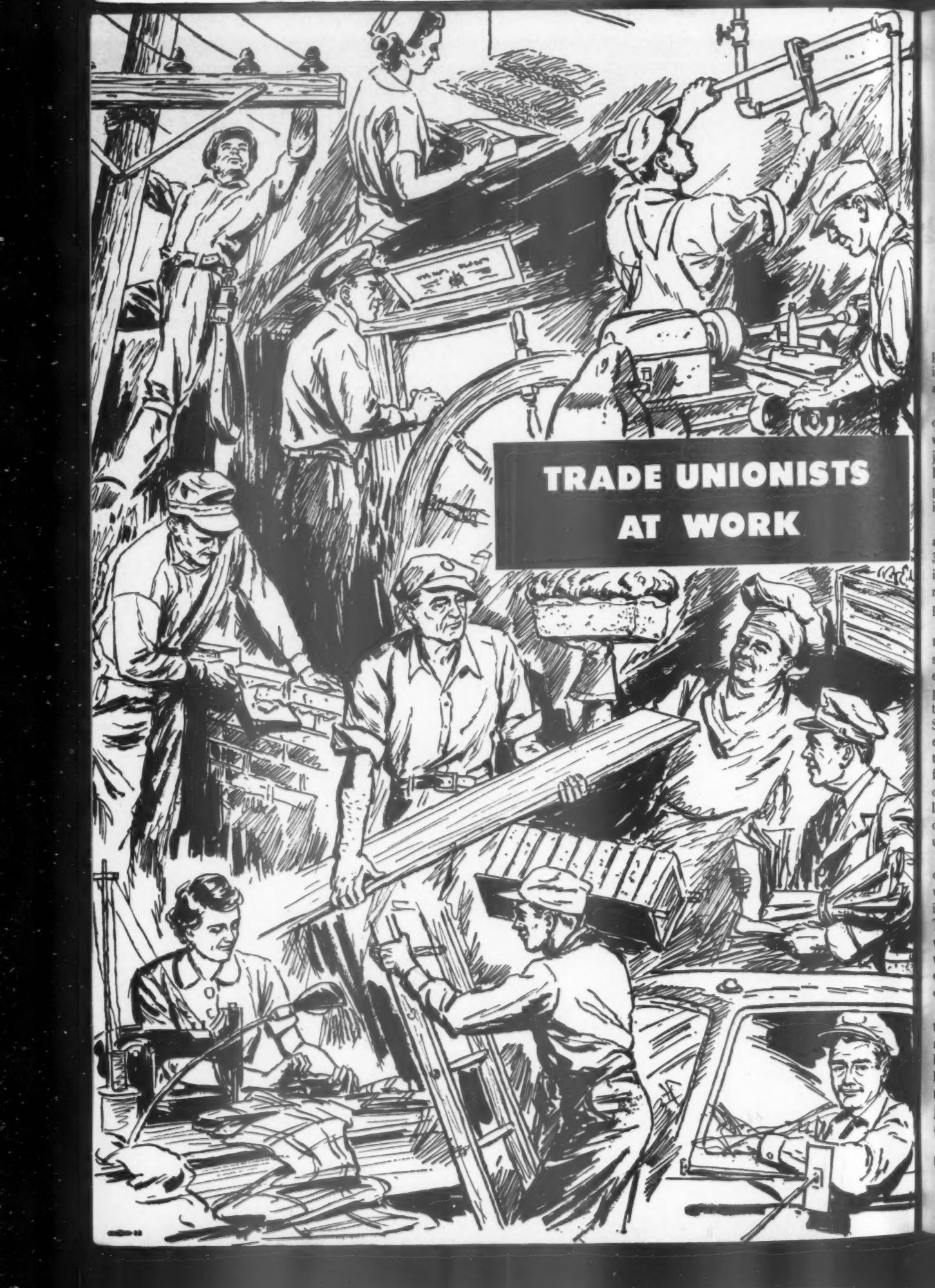
Is it not very possible that I may love my own country without hating the natives of other countries, that I may exert the most heroic bravery, the most undaunted resolution, in defending its laws and liberty, without despising all the rest of the world as cowards and poltroons?

Most certainly it is. And if it were not—but why need I suppose what is absolutely impossible? But if it were not, I must own I should prefer the title of the ancient philosopher, *viz.*, a citizen of the world, to that of an Englishman, a Frenchman, a European or to any other appellation whatever.

Oliver Goldsmith, 1765.

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**TRADE UNIONISTS
AT WORK**

What's Ahead?

By BORIS SHISHKIN

*Director of Research,
American Federation of Labor*

WHAT are the realities of the present economic situation? What is the outlook for economic changes ahead?

These questions are crucial, not only to us, but to the whole free world. They call for a frank and judicious look at how things stand. It takes a realistic appraisal of the present to prepare wisely for what is in store.

By February, 1954, unemployment, as reported by the Census, reached 3,671,000—a rise of nearly 2,500,000 in four months. The speed of this rise in unemployment is without precedent in our history.

Many more people are out of work than the number reported by the Census as unemployed. To take but one example, the Census counts as "employed" those laid off but expecting to go back to work within a month. Such workers, of course, are without employment or wage income when they are counted. As a matter of factual accuracy and for the purpose of economic analysis, these and similar categories of workers actually out of employment should be counted as unemployed.

By including in the count all types of workers who are out of work, we would find that actual unemployment in February was over 4.5 million. This means that over 7 per cent of workers in the civilian labor force were out of work. In other words, 7 out of every 100 workers dependent on a job for livelihood did not work.

Non-farm employment which maintained a high level throughout 1953 reached its seasonal peak in December of 49.7 million. Two months later, in February, 1954, it was down to less than 47.5 million—a drop in jobs of over 2,200,000. In February, 1954, there were 900,000 fewer

non-farm jobs than in February of the previous year.

These facts give the broad outline of recent changes in the employment picture. They reveal a serious and far-reaching dislocation in what was a full-employment economy until a year ago.

Industrial production, adjusted for seasonal change, passed its peak in March, 1953. It hovered near the peak for some three months and, after last July, began to slide down. By February, 1954, it had dropped 10 per cent.

It is significant that retail sales did not pace or even quite match this decline in production. In February, 1954, retail sales were 5 per cent behind February, 1953.

Yet the effect of a slowdown in these key sectors of economic activity reaches out into all vital aspects of the economy. While unevenly distributed, it is widespread enough to make it everyone's concern.

Those who have shouted the loudest in recent months in denunciations of "prophets of gloom" are the sturdy champions of know-nothing, do-nothing policies.

We are in a recession. We have been in a recession for quite some months. There is no real argument about the term or its meaning. As the word implies, a recession takes place when economic activity recedes. And that is precisely what has been taking place since last summer.

Mere calling of the downward trend a "rolling readjustment" or a "minor contraction" does not help to turn it upward. The realities of economic life should be brought out into the light in order to be fully understood, instead of being hidden or clouded.

The present economic recession

must be stopped and reversed. To do so is in the interest of every American. But to stop and reverse it will take action, backed by an informed and understanding public.

Why has this recession come about?

Some of the reasons are related to the aftermath of price and other dislocations following in the wake of speculative and inflationary waves of 1950-51. Others are the result of a sudden shift of expectations early in 1953.

Until then people were persuaded that they were engaged in a long and costly task of building up preparedness against aggression from worldwide forces controlled by the Kremlin. They understood that assurance of a lasting peace could only come from the preponderance of our strength combined with the strength of the free world. The struggle in Korea to them was only an instance of defense against such aggression. Ending of hostilities in Korea, they knew, would neither remove the threat of aggression nor bring the peace.

This attitude was quickly changed after the Korean truce. People were now told by the leaders of their government that they were in "transition from war to peace." Responsible officials, including the Secretary of Defense, expressed the opinion that military attack by the Communists is not likely in the next few years.

In the meantime, economy in all public expenditures, including defense, became an overriding objective. A substantial retrenchment in defense outlays was clearly indicated. By "more defense at less cost" was evidently meant reliance on strategic bombing after attack—the so-called policy of "instant retaliation."

All this changed the expectations of a sustained mobilization effort to

those of relaxation. Attuned to the "transition from war to peace," people began to look for a decrease in defense expenditures and defense production.

Actually, production for national security was reduced by only 6 per cent between the second and fourth quarters of 1953. A further decline of about 4 per cent may be expected by next summer. Nevertheless, expectations of a sharper cut in the flow of defense expenditures have continued to persist.

Another major factor was the new Administration's zeal in "curbing" inflation early in 1953. Although inflation had already run its course, policies were put into effect designed to tighten credit and to make it harder to borrow money. A sharp increase in interest rates on Treasury loans was soon followed by increased rates on various forms of private borrowing.

This ill-conceived and ill-timed manipulation of monetary policies, with official talk about "economy" and "deflation" acting as a booster, provided a powerful brake in bringing economic activity to a slower pace. Although late in 1953 both the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System switched from hard money to easy money measures, the damage of earlier cutbacks in business, mortgage

and other types of borrowing could not be readily undone.

A number of other factors contributed to the 1953 turn in economic activity. Among them was a steady decline of farm prices, bringing about a reduction in the income of farmers. Far-reaching enough, this development beset our farm economy with grave problems, although it left the farm producers in a manageable financial position.

Another element contributing to imbalance was the premature removal of rent controls in the spring of 1953. Substantial rent increases made possible by this action cut into consumers' spending and reduced buying power which would have been available for the purchase of goods.

UNDERLYING these and other developments was the steady and massive advance of technology, spurred by the heavy investments in new plant and machinery under the defense program. Increased productivity was outpacing consumers' ability to buy. In household appliances and furniture and later in automobiles, production running in excess of sales led manufacturers to cut output.

The first effects on employment of the production cutback, which in the case of many consumer durables began as early as February, 1953, and in automobile output in July, took the form of trimming overtime, eliminating extra shifts and squeezing out marginal and "expendable" workers. By October large-scale layoffs began, setting off the rapid rise in unemployment of the last five months.

The President's Economic Report, issued on January 28, 1954, went out of the way to belittle the recession, calling it "the minor contraction of recent months." It also pointedly ignored the central economic problem confronting our country, that of a shift from an economy geared to intensive mobilization for defense to one operating largely on a peacetime civilian base.

With no more than a passing mention of "transition from war to peace," the Report refused to come to grips with the economic consequences of such a transition. The resulting cuts in the still heavy flow of expenditures for national security, reduced military and defense-supporting manpower requirements and cutbacks in

defense production were ignored in the Report. It therefore threw no helpful light on the question of how to fill the critical gap resulting from reduced defense outlays and defense-related activities.

The shadow of these evasions cuts across the economic program outlined in the President's Report. In sketching out the guiding principles for dealing with the possible threat of a depression, the Report denies that any "detailed blueprint of specific actions can be responsibly laid down in advance of the event." The principles it does outline are:

(1) Preventive action. Although left unexplained, presumably this refers to monetary and credit manipulations by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

(2) Avoid a doctrinaire position and work simultaneously on several fronts, harmonizing such efforts.

(3) "Pursue measures that will foster expansion of private activity, by stimulating consumers to spend more money and businessmen to create more jobs."

(4) "Act promptly and vigorously if economic conditions require it."

While the Economic Report accurately describes "consumer income as the key support of prosperity," the program it outlines gives at best only secondary and slight consideration to the bolstering of consumer income. To be sure, the first two "bold steps" it proposes are in that category—(1) modernizing unemployment insurance, and (2) broadening the base of benefits of old-age and survivors' insurance.

But neither of these steps falls into the category of "prompt and vigorous" retaliation against the forces of depression. With no direct federal action to establish modern standards and a mere exhortation to the states to do what is right, the task of modernizing unemployment insurance standards would take three years at the very least and probably much longer. OASI revision would not take as long if driven through Congress with zeal and vigor, but its effects in bolstering retirement income will, of course, be quite slow.

Another item in the program that might have a bearing on consumer income deals with improvements in the planning of public works. Yet the Report regards state and local re-



Every citizen ought to vote on Election Day. That's very true. And when we vote, it's much better to elect good candidates than to see inferior ones triumph. To help elect good candidates, support Labor's League. Give \$1 today to join the League. You can't possibly make a finer investment. Won't you act today to get behind L.L.P.E.?

sponsibility for public works projects as so sacred and inviolate, and is so vague about either the necessary machinery or funds for effective federal aid, that it is difficult to foresee any "prompt and vigorous" action in this area either.

The rest of the program is largely patterned along the lines of the familiar "trickle down" theory. Boons to business and easements to the well-to-do are looked upon as the most suitable means of helping the consumer and advancing the general welfare.

Tax revisions outlined in the program are predominantly of this character. Large easements in the tax liability on business and investment income are the overriding objective of the tax plan.

The housing proposals of the program are not geared to either the nation's need or to its current and future growth. They permit the maintenance of excessive interest charges, rather naively assuming that the President could vary mortgage credit terms at will. The emphasis of the program is badly misplaced, stressing rehabilitation instead of new construction.

In the last eight months of 1953

new housing starts were declining. In January, 1954, they were 8.5 per cent below January, 1953.

One of the most powerful tools for economic revival would be the stimulation of housing activity in proportion to the nation's current needs. To be effective, such aids as might be provided in the housing program must make sure that new housing is brought within the reach of families of low and moderate income. Only this approach can provide a balanced development of our cities and provide maximum stimulus to the rest of the economy.

The American economy is fundamentally sound. The possibility of the present recession spiraling down to a major depression this year is indeed remote. Yet the presence of 4,500,000 wage-earners without jobs and deprived of income creates a situation of utmost seriousness.

In January, 1954, income of individuals before taxes showed a drop of \$2.1 billion from the previous month. It was \$5 billion below July, 1953. The first need is to arrest the downward trend in income. The best insurance against our economy sliding into a depression is to bolster the ability of the great mass of Ameri-

cans to buy more goods and services.

This calls for the raising of the minimum wage standards without delay. This step, evaded in the President's program, is of vital importance in preventing a downdraft in wage income.

The situation also calls for greater tax relief to lower-income taxpayers, as proposed by the A. F. of L. It calls for urgent action to revise unemployment insurance standards and to bring our social security system upward.

Above all, the situation calls for reinforcement of the broad base of wage income by improving wage standards through collective bargaining. For it is the wage income pattern established through wage negotiations that will in the final count yield the greatest return in the form of needed consumer buying power.

A major depression does not lie ahead of the American people if there is concerted action to prevent it now. If the challenge of the current recession is met with truly bold Congressional action and if wage policies of employers prove responsive to the nation's need for rising income, our country may be assured of sustained prosperity.



Furuseth as he appeared near close of his life

ANDREW FURUSETH

Liberator of the Men of the Sea Was Born 100 Years Ago

SIXTY years ago the lot of the American seaman was scarcely to be distinguished from that of a slave—and an extremely ill-treated slave at that. The seaman had no rights whatever that his employer was required to respect. The seaman was in a thoroughly pitiful condition.

Today all this has changed. The shackles have been removed. The American seafarer, like any other American wage-earner, is free. He has rights. He cannot be compelled to accept abuse and humiliation.

The man who liberated the seamen was born just 100 years ago. He was Andrew Furuseth, one of the truly heroic figures in the history of the American labor movement. Doggedly, he worked for decades to persuade Congress to pass legislation that would set free the men who go down to the sea in ships. He knew repeated disappointments, but he never gave up the fight.

Eventually Congress listened to the selfless, dedicated president of the International Seamen's Union. The yoke of serfdom was broken by such measures as the Maguire Act of 1895, the White Act of 1898 and the LaFollette Act of 1915. It was Andrew Furuseth who was responsible for the passage of these laws. And Andrew Furuseth was also largely responsible for the portion of the Jones Act of 1920 which gave added benefits to the seamen.

This great man of labor who was born a century ago—March 12, 1854—has fittingly been called "the Abraham Lincoln of the Sea." Like Lincoln, Andrew Furuseth was a great liberator. American labor will never forget this man and what he achieved by fighting on, year after year, never giving up.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HOUSING PROGRAM

It Bears Little Relation to the Nation's Needs

By HARRY C. BATES

Chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee

PEOPLE who wouldn't think of trying to drive a Model A car on today's super-speed highways are trying to meet the housing requirements of the 1950s with a 1920 level of housing production. It just can't be done.

To realize this you have only to look at the changes we have had in this country since the mid-1920s. Since 1923 our population has increased by nearly 50,000,000. Employment has risen by about 15,000,000, while total national production has more than quadrupled.

But housing activity has barely expanded at all. For the years 1923-27 inclusive, new housing starts averaged 872,000. During the past three years they have averaged only 1,100,000 and in 1954 the most optimistic forecasts are for 1,000,000.

The fact is that due to the low level of housing production since the depression and the near-stoppage of residential construction during World War II, the nation has a tremendous backlog of housing needs. Yet housing requirements will expand rapidly in the years immediately ahead. It is now estimated that our present population of about 161,000,000 will increase to approximately 175,000,000 by 1960. We may have a still more rapid increase in population—and in housing needs—after 1960 as the World War II war babies marry and begin to have children.

The A. F. of L. Housing Committee estimated last August that this all adds up to a need for new housing construction of at least 2,000,000 units a year until 1960. After 1960 we will have to step up this rate of

housing production even more. Incidentally, the A. F. of L. estimate of housing needs has gained general acceptance, and even the real estate and home builders' organizations, which have fought every effective measure for expanding housing construction volume, have begun to acknowledge a much greater housing need than they have ever conceded before.

In the face of the nation's need for a housing output of 2,000,000 units a year, the Administration has come up with a set of proposals which it claims would make possible the achievement of a goal of 1,000,000 housing units a year. This program, largely based on recommendations the President received from a special advisory committee he appointed last summer, was revealed in a special housing message the President sent to Congress. It has since been incorporated in identical bills (S. 2938 and H. R. 7839) introduced by Senator Homer E. Capehart of Indiana and Congressman Jesse R. Wolcott of Michigan, chairmen, respectively, of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees.

It is clear that the Administration's housing program bears little relation to housing needs. Indeed, the President's message setting forth his housing program gives no indication of the extent of housing requirements. The President did not mention total housing needs nor did he single out the groups in the population having the most urgent need for housing. Neither did he evince any recognition of the important role that housing must play in bolstering the economy and restoring full employment.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor accurately summed up the Administration's housing proposals when it said:

"Well-intended as it might be, the Administration's housing program outlined in the President's housing message does not provide the drive necessary to assure expansion of housing activity or to direct where such expansion is needed most."

The Administration's housing program would rely primarily on rehabilitation and remodeling of old, rundown dwellings. These halfway measures are glorified and dressed up as an "urban renewal" program, but the fancy title cannot conceal the fact that the Eisenhower proposals amount to little more than a piecemeal patch-up and fix-up campaign.

This is a backward-looking, negative approach. We will not clear our slums nor provide decent homes for the one-third of our families who are ill-housed nor meet the housing needs of our rapidly growing population by simply fixing up our existing supply of houses. Some houses can be saved from deterioration and made habitable for a few more years, but not many.

The Administration's so-called "urban renewal" program stems largely from recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Housing. That committee's over-enthusiastic acceptance of "rehabilitation" as the best means of meeting the nation's housing needs disregards the excellent advice the committee received from Jack M. Siegel and C. William Brooks, two of the committee's expert consultants. After exam-

ning in detail the failures in practical experience of the rehabilitation approach, these two authorities warned the committee, prior to the formulation of its recommendations, that "minimum rehabilitation in blighted areas may tend to perpetuate rather than eliminate slums." But the committee refused to heed their warning and plumped enthusiastically for the "rehabilitation" panacea.

The emphasis on continued use of existing housing is seen in a particularly dangerous form in the President's proposal for equalization of financial terms (minimum down payment requirement and maximum amortization period) for government insured mortgages on new and existing housing. The inevitable consequence will be to inflate the prices of existing houses to far more than their actual value. With old houses selling at a premium, new residential construction will be discouraged while purchasers and renters of existing houses will have to defray increased costs.

The net result will be fewer houses built and higher costs for home owners and tenants. At the same time, real estate brokers and mortgage lending institutions will reap windfall profits in financial transactions involving old houses.

President Eisenhower has recommended a program of federal financial assistance for so-called "low-cost" private housing. This suggestion has received perhaps more attention than any of the Administration's other proposals. Although the President did not reveal the details of this program in his special message, they are spelled out in the Administration-sponsored bills, introduced by Senator Capehart and Congressman Wolcott.

As set forth in these bills, the FHA could insure 100 per cent loans for a maximum amortization period of forty years for houses costing no more than \$7000 a unit. These houses would be occupied only by families displaced by sum clearance and other government projects. It is this scheme which is being sold as the answer to public housing.

There is not the slightest reason to believe that this program will ever make housing available to even *hundreds* of low-income families. Yet there is need for decent housing for *hundreds of thousands* of such families.

In the first place, it is inconceivable that any appreciable number of houses will be built in cities where families are now being displaced by slum clearance projects at the specified maximum cost of \$7000. In most large cities it costs more than \$7000 today to build even an extremely small two-bedroom house. But even if \$7000 houses were to be built, the Federal Housing Administration estimates that they would involve a monthly housing cost of \$62.90, about twice as much as low-income families can afford.

Relying almost entirely on this untried and probably unworkable program to meet the urgent housing needs of low-income families, the President grudgingly proposed only a token 35,000-unit program for low-rent public housing. Diehard opponents of public housing have apparently been unwilling to permit even that pitifully small amount to be authorized and, to appease them, the Administration-sponsored bill does not even mention public housing. Yet in the test of actual experience, the low-rent public housing program has made good homes available to hundreds of thousands of low-income families at rents they can afford in communities throughout the nation. It is the only program which can provide decent homes for families in the lowest income brackets.

The Administration is also insensitive to the failure of private builders to construct homes within the means of middle-income families. Instead of developing a realistic approach to this problem of bringing the cost of good housing down to a level that ordinary families can afford, the Administration's bill simply tinkers with the financing terms for government-insured housing and changes slightly the secondary market mechanism which permits mortgage lending institutions to sell such mortgages to the government.

The Administration proposes to reduce the down payment for luxury housing, thereby discouraging the building of more moderate-priced houses, and permit higher interest rates and longer amortization periods for almost all government-insured housing. The net result would be to increase greatly the ultimate cost of the house to the purchaser and to make fewer, rather than more, houses available to moderate-income families.

The Administration's program also ignores the need of home buyers for protection against structural defects in the houses they buy. They also need some sort of help to permit them to hold on to their homes if they are forced to delay their payments for a temporary period.

The existing federal programs of guarantees and insurance protect builders and bankers against loss on their investment, but they do nothing to protect the consumer. He has no recourse if the house turns out to be structurally defective. If unforeseen circumstances such as illness or unemployment force him to postpone payment, he can lose the house and the life savings he may have invested in it. But while concentrating on new ways to entice speculative builders and mortgage lenders into building high-priced houses, the Administration has failed to suggest—indeed has specifically rejected—proposals for protection of the consumer.

Thus on every important count the Administration's proposals constitute an entirely inadequate program to meet the nation's housing needs. Encouragement of ill-advised, ineffective and uneconomical "rehabilitation" of old houses and tinkering with already over-generous financial incentives to builders and bankers are not the way to meet the nation's ever-growing housing requirements—especially for the low- and middle-income families whose need for decent homes is most urgent.

At its meeting last month, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recommended the following as minimum steps which should be taken to meet the nation's most pressing housing requirements:

(1) Construction of at least 600,000 units of low-rent public housing in the next three years.

(2) An urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, rebuilding and replanning of metropolitan areas to meet modern requirements.

(3) Government assistance for middle-income housing, especially through long-term, low-cost loans for cooperative and non-profit housing and encouragement of construction of housing for rent.

(4) Protection for home buyers under federally assisted programs, including a re- (Continued on Page 31)

When Will U.S. Employes Receive Fair Wages?

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

*President, National Association of Letter Carriers;
Vice-President, American Federation of Labor*

FEDERAL employment is unique in many respects, not the least of which is the procedure for adjusting wages. Beyond notice by the employe that a salary increase is needed or requested, there is little or no similarity between the procedure laid down for the government worker and the general formula used in bargaining situations in private industry.

In private industry the employe, through his union affiliation, is reasonably certain that his salary demands will be heard in *advance* of the date his current wage agreement terminates. Thus he is able to enter into the period of his new contract with a wage somewhat consistent with the economic realities of the time his wage demand was initially made. In the event of prolonged bargaining or unwillingness of management to bargain, most workers have the legal right to withdraw their labor, which is to say go out on strike.

Government workers have a right under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912—popularly known as the “Anti-Gag Law”—to petition Congress either individually or collectively for wage adjustments and other improvements in their conditions of work. However, there is no provision for forcing the issue to be heard. Thus

it very frequently happens that salary bills and other legislation affecting federal employes gather dust in Congressional committees. Employes are powerless to force hearings or other consideration of their demands, since Congress has over-all and absolute responsibility in the matter.

The latest example of this irksome and burdensome procedure is the thirteen-month interval between the time present wage demands were made on Congress and the time public hearings actually began on the bills. Obviously the salary requirements incorporated in legislation introduced in January, 1953, are far removed from the economic realities of February, 1954.

Moreover, retroactivity in federal wage legislation is more the exception than the rule. In periods of continuing rises in living costs, as our economy has witnessed during the past decade, a delay of many months has a crushing impact on the ability of the federal worker to keep his head above water. His only recourse is part-time work, and since work opportunities are not always available, the next step can only be a loan.

Many members of Congress have interested themselves in this problem, but none has come up with a solution

acceptable either to Congress or the employe unions. The most popular solution advanced is an escalation system. However, no proposal thus far has included the factor of productivity in determining the formula for increases or decreases, and since postal employes can show increased productivity year after year, the absence of that factor constitutes a weakness of enormous proportions.

Moreover, as the result of constant temporary relief by stopgap action, federal wages have never been abreast of living costs. It would be foolhardy for employes to consider any escalation system unless and until there is a permanent floor on which to base that type of wage formula.

The current salary negotiations can be cited to demonstrate the ever-losing fight in which government workers must engage in the battle of arguments and statistics. When their last salary increase was approved by Congress in 1951, a spokesman for the Administration testified that a minimum increase of 21 per cent would be required to bring wages even with then current living costs. In the next breath, the same spokesman recommended an increase of only 6.9 per cent. After months more of drag and delay, the figure was increased to ap-

President Meany Asks Congress to Boost Wages \$800 a Year

George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, called March 9 for prompt passage of legislation to give \$800 annual increases to postal and other employes of the United States government. Testifying before the House Committee on Postoffice and Civil Service, President Meany stressed that the need of federal workers

for higher pay is “imperative.”

The A. F. of L.’s president called attention to the Civil Service Commission’s proposed reclassification plan. This plan, he pointed out, would grant nothing in two grades and only small amounts in other grades “until the scale reaches to the top—at which point the Commission would grant to a limited

number the exact figure provided for in the legislation now before you.”

“This sort of treatment of loyal employees is shabby, and I use that term advisedly,” Mr. Meany told the lawmakers.

Picture appearing on this month’s front cover shows Mr. Meany as he testified before the committee.

proximately 9 per cent. Almost three years later, that is, during the current wage hearings, the 12 per cent difference of 1951 has increased to 16 per cent, but the 1954 offer is less than 3 per cent for the rank and file postal employee and as high as 34 per cent for the top brass.

After more than thirty years of close identification with federal employment and employees, I am convinced that some method must be devised to assure consideration of legislation affecting employees within a reasonable time after the bills reach Congress. The law is specific in its time demands on Congress to consider practically every item of federal spending except expenditures for employee wages. Salary bills are therefore generally left until last and the result is as you would expect. The employees get the "leavings" from whatever amount the prevailing political administration has determined shall be the federal budget for the fiscal year involved. The actual need of the employee or the merit of his salary demand is lost in the din of political oratory calling for lower federal spending, a balanced budget or a reduction in the so-called "postal deficit" in the case of postal workers.

It is my considered opinion that Congress should assume its rightful obligation toward federal employees by approving legislation that will assure the employee a hearing within a specified time after the legislation is placed before Congress. It would be naive to assume that Congress would approve each and every measure in which the employee is interested. But that is not the core of our suggestion, because it is fully realized that once a hearing is scheduled it becomes the responsibility of the employee to justify his request.

What I am advocating is legislation that will guarantee the employee a definite assurance that he will have the opportunity to make his case within a specified time after the bill reaches Congress. That assurance would be no more than a *quid pro quo* for the absence of the federal workers' right to force his demands in the same manner available to his colleagues in private industry.

It is not unusual for eighteen to twenty-four months to elapse between the time postal employees request Congressional consideration of salary legislation and the date of enactment.

The minimum is seldom less than twelve months. In the current "bargaining situation" (to use the term loosely), it has taken Congress thirteen months to start the legislative machinery. The most optimistic guess for the enactment date would be an additional three months, with five months a better and safer bet. It is realized that workers in private industry must face similar interminable delays, but unlike the non-government worker the postal employee cannot force the issue by walking off the job until his demands are recognized and heard.

The most galling thing about the delay in our present wage negotiations is that several months were spent in a job evaluation or job classification survey by a private manage-

ment required eighteen months of diligent application on the part of a Congressional subcommittee, each member of which was well informed on postal affairs. Frequent exchanges of ideas and suggestions were made between the committee and representatives of the employees.

Contrast this approach to the present proposed plan which was conceived in haste by a firm which has neither training nor experience to qualify even remotely as a postal authority. The "survey" was limited largely to one postoffice which by no stretch of the imagination can be regarded as a typical postal installation. Other postoffices were casually studied and comparisons made on the findings of the one office. In short, a sizable sum of the taxpayers' money was spent in sending a boy out to do a man's job.

Postal employees and other government workers believe in the principle of equal pay for equal work. In fact, the principle was originally a workers' claim, based upon the profound feeling of the working class for the ideals of equality and social justice. However, in the case at hand, postal management proposes to distort that principle by arbitrarily defining postal positions in order to downgrade present job titles.

No evidence has been made available for the scrutiny of Congress or the employees that job definitions were decided only after fair comparisons had been made between the postal jobs and comparable jobs in private industry. Nor is assurance given that job definitions will not be subsequently changed at whim, thus bringing about automatic pay cuts.

Sprinkled here and there among pages of the jargon of the efficiency expert is a proposal to give certain segments of the postal workers an annual increase in wages in the princely amount of \$10! If one turns a page or two, it will not be too hard to find \$1500, \$2500, \$3500 and even \$5000 a year increases for the top brass.

Elsewhere in the proposal can be found recommendations to downgrade present positions, with accompanying decreases in wages for the newly classified positions. These and similar recommendations would have the effect of dividing the membership in several existing craft unions within the postal establishment into two or more (Continued on Page 29)



MR. DOHERTY

ment consultant firm. The services of this firm were retained by the Post-office Department at a reported fee of \$40,000, plus an additional \$10,000 for expenses. At that price and in consideration of what was produced by the survey, it should rank as one of the biggest wastes of public funds in the annals of federal spending.

While we agree that a reclassification of postal salaries is desirable, as is a job re-evaluation, I need not emphasize the fact that job evaluation is generally considered one of the most intricate, complicated and difficult problems which can confront management and labor. It can be done accurately and equitably only after intensive research, study and investigation. For example, the last reclassification in the postal establish-

Secretary Schnitzler Speaks in Denver

WHEN will the Eisenhower Administration take action on the growing unemployment problem? William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, raised this vital question a few days ago when he spoke at the dedication of the new A. F. of L. union center in Denver. He told his audience that it appears to him the Administration is not likely to do anything about unemployment until next year.

"The closest approach to action was a promise that the Administration would take another of those 'new looks' in March," Mr. Schnitzler said. "Unfortunately, the March figures on unemployment won't be available until April. The new look will probably extend into May, and before long Congress will be headed for home and the hustings, and nothing can be done until the following January."

The A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer referred to President Eisenhower's program for this session of Congress, saying:

"A program of sorts has been put forward, bearing the label—if not the contents—of a 'dynamic' plan of action."

But the program doesn't seem to be going anywhere, Mr. Schnitzler observed.

"It seems to have run out of gas," he said, "and to have been lost in the shuffle of advancing and retreating factions of the party in power."

Discussing the Administration's promise to take a "new look" at the unemployment situation, Mr. Schnitzler told the throng gathered for the dedication of Denver's new "House of Labor":

"How much faith can we have that this re-examination will lead to sounder or more durable decisions than the new looks of the recent past? What have they yielded up to now? They led to a policy of hard money and higher interest rates—subsequently reversed. They led to proposals to liberalize the Taft-Hartley Act—sub-

sequently repudiated. They led to higher minimum wage proposals—subsequently scuttled. They led to a plan for a stronger civil defense program—subsequently abandoned. And so on down the line.

"The basic trouble with these new looks is that they have been too often taken with the old blinders on. Those in power have relied too much upon the special viewpoint of a team from the country clubs and country houses of the nation, whose members derive their views from their own handbills and have little contact with the common herd, save in a master-servant relationship.

"Little heed has been paid to the voices of those who speak the sentiments and opinions of the people at large who have the most at stake in the future course of our national economy. Yet history proves and democracy is based upon the fact that the people are more often right than any narrow and select elite."

Mr. Schnitzler said that, at a time



MR. SCHNITZLER

when the country needs action, members of Congress have been busy with sowing "disunity and partisan controversy." Instead of searching for practical solutions to urgent practical problems, he declared, these legislators are engaged in "the wild pursuit of scapegoats and whipping boys, real or imaginary."

"In place of intelligent debate we are treated to oratorical gunfire over who is more anti-Red than whom," said the A. F. of L. leader. "And no one in a position to do so seems to have the courage to stand up and blow the whistle on these acts of madness."

British Unions Still Growing

UNION membership is still on the increase in Britain. This fact is revealed in recent figures issued in London by the Ministry of Labor.

Unions in Britain have had substantial membership in the main heavy industries for 100 years. In this century unionism spread to other industries, but the large numbers of new members recruited between 1910 and 1920 were not all held. However, when the upward climb resumed in 1939, it was a different story. This time the gains have been consolidated.

During World War II, membership went up by 1,500,000. Since 1946 it has risen a further 1,600,000, increases being particularly large in 1946 and 1947, the Ministry of Labor says.

Union membership is not evenly spread. The proportion is much higher among manual than office

workers, higher in larger establishments than in small, twice as high among men as among women. Some industries are almost entirely unionized. Types of employment with the highest level of union membership in all grades are mining, transport and other utilities, and government service. Sections with the lowest proportion of union labor include commerce and retail distribution other than by cooperative societies.

The pattern of union organization in Britain still shows many traces of its early local origins. Formation of nationwide unions has proceeded unevenly. Despite many mergers in the 1920s, there are still 690 separate organizations. Five hundred of these have under three per cent of the total membership among them. Two-thirds of all union members in Britain are now in the seventeen large unions.

The Struggle for the Schools

By MARK STARR

"JUST as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined." Every country has a similar proverb to emphasize the importance of early influences. Traditionally these were the home, the school and the church. Now they have been challenged, and many say overshadowed, by the radio, television, newspapers, magazines, comics and the movies. Yet those of us who are parents know that the schools continue to be a big influence in shaping the basic attitudes of our children. What the school says about labor, or indeed neglects to say, merits constant and close attention from organized labor.

Labor's interest in the schools is no newly acquired fad. From 125 years ago and the early agitations necessary to win the public school, down to the recent A. F. of L. pamphlet, "Labor and Education in 1953," the American labor movement has fought for better schools. If the United States remains the land of opportunity, then basically it must mean opportunity of access to education, so that our country can benefit from all the potential talent of its children.

Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler of the American Federation of Labor appropriately introduced the above-mentioned pamphlet by asserting:

"It is the duty of every working man and woman to take a more active and energetic interest in the educational affairs of their communities, by working through parent-teacher associations, by seeking representation on boards of education, by supporting adequate school budgets and by supporting candidates for office who will work for a stronger educational system."

Currently, there is a struggle for the

mind of youth, particularly youth in the public school system. Until recent years Big Business tended to be suspicious of the schools. Local Chambers of Commerce opposed any big increase in educational facilities on the ground that it meant higher taxation. Big Business naturally opposed the American Federation of Labor when in 1953 it endeavored to get oil for the lamps of education from the proceeds of the nation's offshore oil resources.

However, in the main Big Business now recognizes that a discontented teacher is a threat to the *status quo*. The more intelligent sections of Big Business have cooperated with progressive forces and with the trade unions to improve the public school.

THROUGHOUT the United States there are now many and various forms of "Business-Education Days." The large concerns have included the schools and particularly their teachers in their regular public relations activity. School teachers are invited to make group visits to plants. The influential journal *Scholastic* has printed a list of firms which will arrange such visits. The National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce also provide a large supply of free pamphlets, filmstrips and films in which the business point of view is made available to the schools.

The American Federation of Labor, both through its permanent Educational Committee and through the Education Committee of its annual conventions, has given considerable thought to this problem. The Federation has definitely insisted that there must be no partisan effort to interfere with the control and administration of the public schools. It has bluntly said that the schools should not be exploited by any special group. However, in the Educational Committee's report accepted by the American Federation of Labor it was made clear that this should not mean lack of cooperation with the schools in essay

contests, lectures by trade unionists to teachers and student assemblies, Labor Day programs, educational institutes and the supplying of reliable literature dealing with the labor movement. President George Meany wrote a special letter to alert the central labor unions why and how this could be done.

Commenting on the wide adoption of Business-Education Days, Dr. Derwood Baker, director of the Joint Council on Economic Education (which runs numerous teacher workshops), correctly insisted:

"This program has great possibilities for teacher growth and for improved public relations. It is strengthened when schools take the leadership in planning, when organized labor is invited to cooperate, and when return visits from business and labor to the schools are arranged.

"Careful preparation for the conferences between management and teachers, or labor representation and teachers, should be made, so that a full inquiry into the problems, policies and plans of the organization visited are made clear."

From reports made by organized teachers, only in a few places are these stipulations applied.

Some of the educational groups in economic education that have been set up are genuine agencies with which labor can cooperate. In other cases, such as ACES (Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System) in Pennsylvania, they have deservedly been opposed by organized labor. The Indiana State Federation of Labor and its constituent unions vigorously protested last year against the distribution in Indiana schools of a pamphlet called "Menace of Labor Unions." The following is a sample of the contents of this anti-labor pamphlet:

"The entire structure of organized labor is built on a foundation principle that is unwise, unsound, unsafe. Two million dollars a year is paid to organizers—professional agitators who constantly fan the fallacy that

Mark Starr is Education Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. He is the author of "Labor and the American Way" (1953) and "Labor in America" (1949), high school textbooks.

employers are the enemies of their workmen—demagogues who preach the false doctrine of class hatred."

The pamphlet winds up with a plea for company unions.

The Better Business Bureau lists some twenty-eight groups set up to influence education in the nation's public schools and colleges. Some of the groups are thinly disguised rackets. They try to scare big corporations and rich individuals into granting them funds to arrest the alleged spread of "creeping socialism."

There are other cases where such bodies have been blatantly anti-union and have misrepresented the outstanding role of labor in community welfare. There have been tainted textbooks with a bias against unions. Parents should tactfully inquire what their offspring are learning about labor in the public school.

No trade union is shouldering its appropriate responsibility unless, by word of mouth, by the printed word or, better still, by effective films, it tries to tell school children and the general public what the union's functions are and how unions are an indispensable element in our free society.

THE unions did much for the public schools in the past, but the public schools of today, in many instances, have not given adequate recognition to the role of labor in community welfare. There can be no doubt that paternalism and dictatorship in industrial relations are outmoded and that the practical application of democratic principles in industry through union recognition now has won wide acceptance. However, there are still grievous misconceptions about the role of the unions, how they are run and what are their aims. Let us admit that part of this is our own fault. We have not always told labor's story well and effectively.

Lots of people still mistakenly think that the unions provoke strikes instead of preventing them. Many do not understand that today labor and management fight with facts rather than with fists, and that tens of thousands of agreements are peaceably negotiated and honorably kept.

In the training of our youth the public schools and colleges should prepare the representatives both of management and of labor, as well as the members of manufacturers' asso-

ciations and trade unions, to shoulder their rights and responsibilities.

Labor, of course, suffers from the fact that virtue must be its own reward because the publicity value of virtue remains notoriously low. You cannot write a history of the institution of marriage by concentrating upon the reports of the divorce courts.

It is the responsibility of the intelligent teacher, even in the grade and high school, to give to his students a correct picture of industrial relations and to let the record speak about the contribution of the trade unions to progress. Unfortunately, the present efforts of business to influence the schools too often go in the wrong direction.

Unions should be more active in getting effective representatives on the local boards of education. They should meet jointly with the teachers and educational administrators to plan the expansion of education. There are several obvious things which educators, teachers and their students can do:

(1) When disputes are discussed in the newspapers, they can be at pains to get both sides of the question. If possible, they should, by direct interview, find out what both the employer and the union are saying.

(2) They should visit union halls as well as the local chamber of commerce. They should listen in, if possible, on arbitration proceedings and thus gain direct contact with labor-management relations. Representatives of labor, as well as of management, should be invited as guest teachers and assembly speakers.

(3) Educators, teachers and students should read labor magazines and newspapers and have labor pamphlets as well as management pamphlets used in the labor problems and civics courses. They should get the publications of the U.S. Depart-

ment of Labor to help form well-founded opinions on industrial matters. Good reading lists are available from Rutgers, Cornell and the University of Illinois as well as from the Workers' Education Bureau of the American Federation of Labor.

(4) Teachers should impress on their pupils the duty of exercising eternal vigilance in later life as members of unions and as citizens and voters in their communities. Teachers should emphasize duties and responsibilities as well as rights and privileges. They should adapt to their own areas study units on labor already developed by specialists.

Greater mutual understanding and more cooperation in the community as a whole are needed. Education at its best is the agency whereby all blocks in communication between the various sections of our community can be removed. We still have grave social problems which need solution.

We want to get away from the boom-and-bust cycle which has marked the past. We want to make necessary social changes by consent in safeguarding the workers by improved wage standards and social security. We want to see that our future citizens are prepared and, indeed, enthusiastic to shoulder their political and industrial obligations.

This can be done only if education lives up to its tremendous responsibilities. We can—as Horace Mann, the great pioneer of the American public school, hoped—remove the tendency to dominate on the part of management and also remove any vestiges of the past servility forced upon labor.

Organized labor knows that ignorance and freedom cannot co-exist. Education can help to create free men and women who will make our democratic society in the United States work so well and so effectively that it will be a pattern to all the world.

THE DOLLARS you earn each week are *union-earned* dollars. When you spend those dollars, be true to yourself. Make sure that the goods and services which you and your family buy merit the patronage of sincere trade unionists.

Tell your friends and neighbors to look for and insist upon the union label, union shop card and union service button whenever they plan to spend money. Since these emblems always indicate better values, they'll thank you.

White-Collar Awakening

By HOWARD COUGHLIN
President, Office Employes International Union

IT IS becoming more and more apparent that the white-collar workers of this nation are slowly but surely looking more favorably on unionization as the answer to their economic problems.

For many years the American Federation of Labor and others have been attempting to convince white-collar workers of the advantages of union organization and collective bargaining. There were many obstacles to overcome. Close proximity to the employer or employer representatives brought about a situation where the employe absorbed the company's viewpoint and employer thinking. The prestige of a white-collar job was also a factor.

The feeling that white-collar workers were "above" unionism and that unions were intended only for non-office workers was pretty much the theme adopted by office and clerical workers. It was also thought that unions would restrict advancement for the individual clerical employe within a company and that the clerical employe should be individualized if he were to gain the respect of the employer.

The nature and location of the office where clerical employees worked were, and to a certain degree still are, obstacles in the way of union organization. For example, employes of a bank, a brokerage company or an insurance company who have no direct contact or only slight contact with skilled crafts and manual workers are not as cognizant of the many wage gains, improved working conditions and fringe benefits obtained by organized workers as are clerical employes working on the same premises with organized production or other non-office workers.

This principle is well demonstrated by the successful organization of the railway clerks in an industry where unionization has achieved much in the way of benefits for the workers who don't wear white collars. Throughout the United States, the A. F. of L.'s Brotherhood of Railway



MR. COUGHLIN

Clerks today has approximately 90 per cent of all eligible clerical employes.

A recent Gallup Poll survey indicates that 70 per cent of the white-collar workers in this country now approve of unionization. Many factors have contributed to the gradual awakening of office and clerical workers to the desirability and need for union organization and collective bargaining. Among these factors are:

(1) Mechanization of the office. The tabulating machine, bookkeeping machine, reproducers, mechanical filing systems and now electronic computers and translators are gradually regimenting the office force and doing away with individualistic feelings which existed heretofore.

(2) The crafts, skilled and non-skilled manual workers' unions have caught up with and in many cases exceeded the fringe benefits which white-collar workers enjoyed historically. For many years employers pointed to the fact that clerical employes had sick leave, paid holidays

and vacation provisions, which the manual worker at that time did not enjoy. Such is not the case today. The clerical employe now finds himself in the position of having lost his fringe-benefit advantage while still at the bottom of the wage heap.

(3) There has been a constantly widening wage gap between the higher-paid manual workers and the lower-paid clericals, which has been drummed into the consciousness of clerical workers time and time again through newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

(4) The employer has wrecked his own anti-union arguments by aligning himself with employer associations for collective bargaining and other economic purposes.

The Office Employes International Union was chartered by the American Federation of Labor because the A. F. of L. was convinced that the time was ripe for large-scale unionization of office and clerical employes. The A. F. of L. was right.

In a little more than eight years of existence as an international, the Office Employes International Union has built an organization of more than 220 local unions of white-collar workers in the United States and Canada. It has passed the 50,000 membership mark. It is advancing in all parts of this country and Canada.

In Hollywood, for example, the vast majority of office and clerical employes working in the motion picture industry are members of Local 174 of the O.E.I.U. This local is also making rapid strides in the radio and television field in the Los Angeles area. It is important to note, too, that these organized clerical workers are a vital part of the organized labor movement in the motion picture industry. It is rare that a concerted movement of any kind, whether it be organizational, charitable or otherwise, is taken without consultation or the active participation of Local 174.

In New York City a local which was chartered only a few years ago is now the *(Continued on Page 29)*

MIRACLE ON THE WATERFRONT

By ACE M. KEENEY, *Executive Director, A. F. of L. International Longshoremen's Association*

NEW YORK.

DOCK workers in the Port of New York supporting the American Federation of Labor's new International Longshoremen's Association have performed a miracle on this waterfront. They have smashed the iron grip of the mobsters and racketeers who have exploited them and held them under a rule of terror, violence and economic slavery for almost thirty years.

Under the new I.L.A.-A. F. of L. banner, the longshoremen of the Port of New York now stand on the threshold of obtaining a new bargaining election which will give them their golden opportunity to win representation rights for a union of dock workers run by dock workers and for the benefit of dock workers. Theirs is a battle that is without precedent in Twentieth Century America and which, triumphantly concluded, will bring honor to themselves and the American Federation of Labor.

However, a long, difficult road still lies ahead. The I.L.A.-A. F. of L. is fighting to get the National Labor Relations Board to order a new election. The I.L.A.-A. F. of L. will win

that poll. Then it must win a new contract from the New York Shipping Association to establish decent working conditions in the Port of New York. It must complete the tremendous task of setting up its own union structure to make it an honest and effective instrument for all its members. These tasks are great, but their accomplishment is now possible in the foreseeable future.

THOUGH the path ahead is filled with many pitfalls, the longshoremen of the Port of New York show a new confidence because of the obstacles they have already surmounted in the six months since the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor. When that convention expelled the old I.L.A. for its failure to oust racketeers from union offices, end the shape-up and institute democratic union procedures, there was only a handful of longshoremen in the great Port of New York willing to join the A. F. of L. campaign to establish a new and decent union. On the 700 docks along the 500 miles of waterfront in Brooklyn, Manhattan,

Staten Island and New Jersey, these few made up in enthusiasm what they lacked in numbers.

Slowly the interest in the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. campaign grew. It gained in spite of the terror, organized fear and violence employed by the old I.L.A. through hardened and ruthless criminals. It attracted supporters even though the New York Shipping Association openly lent aid and encouragement to the racketeer I.L.A. which had signed substandard and sellout contracts for so many years.

While this progress was being made step by step, the National Labor Relations Board issued an order for a quickie election under pressure of false propaganda and political influence brought to bear by the New York Shipping Association. That order gave the Shipping Association everything it requested—an election on six days' notice and for the entire Port of New York. The American Federation of Labor union had asked for a unit composed only of longshoremen in the Port of New York and the election to be held only when the atmos- *(Continued on Page 25)*

Meetings are bringing the message of freedom to longshoremen who were long held in bondage



The Construction Outlook

By RICHARD J. GRAY
President, Building and Construction Trades Dept.

CONDENSED FROM AN ADDRESS

I AM inclined to forecast that for us in the building and construction industry, 1954 will prove to be close to, if not the best construction year that the country has ever enjoyed. I make this optimistic forecast with several reservations.

No. 1 on my list of reservations is the speed with which Congress will enact pending legislation which will enable us to carry on the many programs which are so urgently needed throughout the country. For example, I have in mind our road construction program. As I understand the picture today concerning road construction, our country is anywhere from twenty to twenty-five years behind schedule. At our present rate our pace is falling behind continually.

Another example would be the school construction program. Here again we must look for Congressional action. Bills are now pending before appropriate Congressional committees which will enable local municipalities to get started on the great backlog.

Housing in all its forms—FHA-insured loans, Veterans Administration guaranteed loans, slum clearance, urban redevelopment, public housing legislation—is also currently pending in Congress. Here again quick Congressional action means a great deal in determining whether or not we will attain my optimistic goal of high production during 1954.

The same can be said of defense projects to be constructed in this country. Whether they are under the auspices of the Army, Air Force or Navy or the Atomic Energy Commission, we must look for Congressional action on them and also on many other much-needed projects, from reclamation and hospital projects to the construction of public power plants.

As I stated at the outset, I have sev-

eral reservations concerning my prediction for a great construction year in 1954, the main reservation being speedy Congressional action on the main pending bills. Another reservation is the many contingencies which can upset or very seriously impede our whole construction economy.

For example, the fighting in Indo-China. If it were to progress to the recent Korean stage in a matter of months, we could expect national controls as we experienced them a few years ago. Whether or not we will experience such an unfortunate affair is more than I can venture to guess. It must, however, be a factor in the over-all picture.

One of my prime reservations in predicting the construction industry for 1954 is the national fiscal policy. In recent months our new Administration has relaxed its initial so-called "hard money" policy, thus resulting in a much more fluent and steady flow of mortgage money into the home building field. Changes can be made by our national Administration in its fiscal policy for any number of reasons unforeseeable at this time which could vitally affect our construction industry.

In spite of these serious reservations, I am inclined to think at the end of this year, when we total up the amount of construction put in place, we will have attained the highest mark in our history. In view of these considerations, I think it is wise for us in the construction industry, all branches of it, to examine ourselves very clearly. This situation can be serious, but are we prepared in all segments of the industry to contribute our greatest effort in bringing about a continuous volume of work so we can contribute to the national welfare the result of a high national income

and high purchasing power for our people?

We in this industry, all segments of it—finance, you gentlemen the employers, ourselves as labor—have a just cause to sit down and review the situation and ask ourselves what we can jointly contribute to the service of the American public that it is entitled to receive from us and to the benefit of our industry as a whole.

Too frequently we view ourselves as the principal part of the industry. Not one of us can get along without the others. We seldom get together in our various localities around the country unless we have conflicts. We have lost sight of the many opportunities where we could work together as a team and could contribute to our industry, and I know at this time of no instance where we attempted to sit down and chart those things.

If we could chart them and bring them to the attention of our people and get the sincere cooperation of all segments of our group that is so necessary to the general welfare of our industry, then we certainly would break down the resistance to bringing about a reconciliation of those conflicting things and we would be in a position to do it.



MR. GRAY



National Safety Council
"You wouldn't be interested in my business. I sell safety shoes."

EDITORIALS

by George Meany

Economic Mysteries

THE AMERICAN consumer is being taken for a ride in the current "rolling readjustment."

That becomes evident from the latest government figures showing the cost of living is still climbing at a time of overstocked inventories, curtailed production and shrinking employment.

Some economists profess to be encouraged by the fact that prices are not softening up under pressure. But this is small comfort to the millions of workers whose take-home pay has been slashed by a shorter work-week and especially to those millions who have been laid off or actually fired. They want to know what's happened to the law of supply and demand. They find it more than a little mysterious that prices keep going up when sales are going down. They can't account for the fact that their grocery bills continue to mount while the income of the nation's farmers has been drastically reduced.

To make matters worse, the government appears to be backing away from its pledge to take "emergency" action to combat unemployment if it continues to rise. The President first announced that unless conditions picked up in March he would seek to reduce taxes through higher personal exemptions and take other steps to prime the pump of purchasing power. Now, however, the deadline has been postponed to April, and the President has ruled out any higher income tax exemptions.

The public should remember that March usually ushers in a period of expanding production and more jobs. If the rise in unemployment merely levels off this month, as Administration spokesmen expect, it would be far from encouraging, since it would mean the loss of about 300,000 new jobs normally to be expected at the start of the spring season.

The first concern of the Administration still appears to be directed against the imaginary danger that the nation can be "talked into a depression." Because of that attitude the government thus far has failed to take the actual fact of a

recession seriously enough. It has failed to go beyond the cold statistics and to consider the problem in terms of the human misery caused by widespread disemployment and layoffs. It has failed to budge from the mistaken theory that aid to business comes before aid to people.

We hope our national leaders will soon realize that the time for shilly-shallying is past, that the time for action is now rather than in the uncertain future and that the American people expect their government to have a heart.

Craft Severance

THE NEW and far-reaching decision of the National Labor Relations Board on the craft severance issue must be interpreted in the light of past history before its true significance can be fully appreciated. When the original Wagner Act was adopted by Congress, the American Federation of Labor understood that it guaranteed to craft workers the right to decide for themselves whether they would be represented in collective bargaining by a separate craft union or whether they wished to be embraced in a single unit covering all production workers. The author of the law, the late Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, so assured the leaders of the A. F. of L.

When the National Labor Relations Board was created, however, it assumed jurisdiction to determine the appropriate collective bargaining unit irrespective of the wishes of the workers directly concerned. During the period when the Board was under the influence of a Communist clique, its decisions almost invariably favored industrial units as against craft units. Later, it voted to permit craft units when there was a history of collective bargaining along craft lines. Still later it abandoned even this guidepost.

As far back as 1938, the American Federation of Labor called upon Congress to amend the law by setting forth in explicit language the right of the workers directly affected to make this vital decision, affecting their very livelihood, themselves—instead of leaving it to the discretion of

the NLRB. We asked Congress to adopt the language of the New York State Labor Relations Law on this point. That language did not make craft units mandatory. It required that the affected workers should make the decision, rather than a government agency.

In 1947, Congress adopted the Taft-Hartley Act, which was actually a long series of amendments to the Wagner Act. One of these amendments attempted, in language far less explicit than the New York State law, to curb the NLRB's authority to force industrial units. During the past five years, the Board virtually ignored this new mandate from Congress and proceeded, as in the past, to exercise discretionary authority.

Now, at long last, the National Labor Relations Board has seen the light. Its decision in the American Potash Company case upholds the basic principle for which the A. F. of L. has fought relentlessly these past eighteen years. Under the new rule adopted by the Board, it will automatically permit a true craft group in an industry to be separately represented wherever the workers want it and the union is one that traditionally represents that craft.

This new rule will be applicable in all but four industries—basic steel, aluminum, logging and set milling—which were exempted under a previous doctrine established by the NLRB in 1948.

As the majority decision of the Board said:

"All that we are considering here is whether true craft groups should have an opportunity to decide the issue for themselves. We conclude that we must afford them that choice in order to give effect to the statute."

This decision, as the Board itself declared, is a real gain for "industrial democracy."

On Latin-American Policy

THE TENTH Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States at Caracas,

Venezuela, has brought into the open a number of issues that have recently clouded the relationship between the United States and the republics of Latin America.

The selection of Venezuela as the host country was a mistake. Venezuela is under a military dictatorship that has completely suppressed civil and trade union rights, disbanded opposition parties and jailed without trial hundreds of political and

labor leaders. Little Costa Rica abstained from participating in the conference as a gesture of protest. Thus it succeeded in emphasizing the contradiction of a policy that aims at checking the spread of totalitarian communism by relying on the cooperation and support of totalitarian fascism.

Despite the desire of a number of countries to pussyfoot the issue of Communist infiltration in Guatemala, our government has announced its intention to lay the cards on the table and come to a showdown. The position taken by some Latin American governments is that what happens inside Guatemala should be no concern of ours or of any other country as long as no overt acts of external aggression are threatened or committed.

This, in fact, was the policy consistently adopted and defended by the U.S. government in its relationship with the totalitarian fascist regimes. It is now clear that this policy was a mistake, as the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly warned in the past. We must show concern for freedom of civil and trade union rights in the countries that belong to the anti-Communist coalition so as to have the moral right to protest and intervene against suppression of civil and trade union rights in the countries that are under Communist influence. Consistency is one of the responsibilities of leadership.

Latin Americans are complaining that their economic needs are being neglected by the United States, in spite of specific promises made to them in Dr. Milton Eisenhower's report, subsequently endorsed by the President himself. In terms of practical application of that report, little or nothing has been done. Our government's policy seems to restrict to the minimum help by public lending agencies—such as the Export-Import Bank—in favor of greater private financing and investment. However, the Latin Americans, in their desire to resist what they call "economic occupation," are generally opposed to the idea of further private investments on a large scale. The only solution would seem to be the resumption of aid on a government-to-government level, with intensification of technical assistance.

The ultimate success of the U.S. economic policy in Latin America must be measured by the degree of improvement achieved in the standard of living of the people and in the increase of their purchasing power, rather than by greater profits for U.S. private investors.

PROGRESS IN TOLEDO

By FRANK FISCHER and R. J. FLORY

President and Secretary, Respectively, Toledo Central Labor Union

THE progress of organized labor in Toledo, Ohio, can be understood only by taking a backward look. Twenty years ago labor and employers in this important industrial city had a strong feeling of distrust for each other. A change set in only after several serious strikes. Since that stormy time, however, the rights of both parties to a fair hearing of the issues have been recognized.

Since 1938 the A. F. of L. building trades unions of Toledo and the employers have had a joint board to discuss grievances and to settle difficulties wherever possible. This joint board has proved most effective. In other industries organized wage-earners had no machinery to assist them until 1945. In that year a Labor-Management Citizens Committee was created by the City Council.

The Citizens Committee has forty-eight members. Sixteen are public members, sixteen are labor members (eight from the American Federation of Labor and eight from the Congress of Industrial Organizations) and sixteen are from top management. When called into a dispute, the Citizens Committee selects an equal number of representatives from each group to hear the arguments and then makes recommendations to both parties to the dispute. The recommendations are not binding on either party, but in the majority of disputes the recommendations are agreed to and the case is closed.

The Labor-Management Citizens Committee employs an executive secretary who is empowered to try to settle cases before a panel is formed. By this procedure 85 per cent of the cases are disposed of before they emerge as serious disputes. Under this procedure the press is not informed and the results show only in the annual report of the Labor-Management Citizens Committee.

Other areas where Toledo labor makes a great contribution are in the health and welfare agencies of the

Community Chest and the Red Cross. Labor has a welfare director and representation on the local board of directors of the Red Cross and the Blood Committee. The A. F. of L. representative is chairman of the First Aid and Water Safety Committee. The Toledo A. F. of L. movement is represented on all community projects that have any bearing on relations of labor to the public welfare.

In recent years the city's various religious groups have taken cognizance of the necessity of labor and religion working together on a cooperative basis. Labor is now recognized on a year-round basis instead of only on Labor Day, as in the past.

The American Federation of Labor

in Toledo has a Labor Day parade each year. However, it is difficult to promote the parade because of a lack of interest on the part of many of the younger members of organized labor in the purpose for which Labor Day was established.

Each year the A. F. of L. movement of Toledo is consulted more and more before large-scale community undertakings are launched. The value of labor's support is recognized by almost everyone in the city. Today the A. F. of L. is accepted and respected in the community. There has been a great change for the better since the bitter days of two decades ago. Labor in Toledo expects to make further progress in the years to come.

An Appeal From Nigeria

By F. O. PORBENI

Secretary, Public Utility, Technical and General Workers Union of Nigeria, Africa

AMERICAN unions can do a lot to help the Nigerian trade unions. Our new constitution, which will soon come into operation, will make it necessary for our unions to be organized very much on the American pattern. We shall therefore look to the organized labor movement in America for inspiration.

What assistance could be given? We urgently need materials for educational work. We need office equipment. Efforts are now being made by some Nigerian unions to publish magazines for their members. These unions need encouragement, because such publications would be an effective means of breaking the control which the politicians now exert over the workers through their press.

I would suggest that unions in America and elsewhere "adopt" Nigerian unions. They should regard these unions as "juniors" which they should help in every way possible. They can be in correspondence with

one another, and American trade unionists could help to formulate a plan whereby union leaders from Nigeria could visit the United States as guests of their counterpart unions. There is much that could come out of this arrangement. I had an opportunity to visit Europe last year, and I know what a change this meant to me in my own trade union work.

In a fast-developing country like Nigeria, the worker has an important part to play in national affairs. But with his present strength it is not possible for him to do much. He is at the mercy of outside influences, such as the politicians within the country and the Communists from abroad.

If Nigeria's labor movement is to be counted among the free labor movements of the world, then we need assistance now from the more developed trade unions in the free world. This is an urgent matter. It should receive serious and urgent attention.

Our Long Fight for Democracy

By MATTHEW WOLL

To the more than 10,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, foreign affairs and international problems are no sideline concern or mere extracurricular activity. For many years the A. F. of L. has been vitally interested in promoting democratic international labor solidarity.

In more recent years, since the rise of the various totalitarian movements, the A. F. of L. has been especially energetic in its activities to help our country develop and consistently pursue a vigorous democratic foreign policy and to rally and unite the free trade union movement to become the spearhead in the fight for freedom, social justice and peace.

We of the American Federation of Labor have always realized that there can be no bona fide free trade union movement without political democracy. We have likewise always realized that there can be no democracy without a vigorous and responsible free trade union movement.

That is why we have never for even a split second tolerated, associated with or had the slightest dealing with any brand of totalitarianism, whether it be Nazi, Fascist, Falangist, Peronist or Communist.

It is our firm conviction that democracy—human freedom and decency—cannot long exist side by side with totalitarian dictatorship and its barbarous slave state. The one is the very opposite of the other. The two are utterly incompatible.

We of the American Federation of Labor believe in translating our words into deeds. In order to help our government develop and apply a sound democratic foreign policy and in order to help the free trade unions of the world pool their forces and resources to preserve freedom and peace, the A. F. of L. has a special committee on international affairs. We also established the Labor League for Human Rights and the Free Trade Union Committee to aid needy trade

unionists who have suffered at the hands of totalitarian tyranny of all stripes and to help labor organize itself into genuine free trade unions free from all control by governments, political parties and employers.

In Europe and Asia we are actively engaged in helping the forces dedicated to free trade unionism and democracy. In fulfilling these tasks, we publish a considerable amount of literature in various languages. The monthly *International Free Trade Union News* appears in English, French, German and Italian.

A. F. of L. publications do not apologize for democracy or cringe and tremble before totalitarianism—no matter what may be the color of the flag in which this anti-human, ultra-reactionary movement may wrap itself. Our publications carry the fight to the enemy. We take the offensive because we firmly believe in democracy and realize that working people have the greatest stake in democracy and face the most deadly foe in totalitarianism and dictatorship.

Through our publications we not only refute the lies and slanders propagated for a generation, especially by the Communist totalitarians, against America, but we also, by presenting unimpeachable facts, expose the destructive nature and reactionary role of totalitarianism of every hue.

The American Federation of Labor has always maintained that, since the defeat of the Nazi-Fascist Axis in 1945, totalitarian communism, which has its head and heart in the Kremlin, has become the main threat to human liberty, social justice and world peace.

That is why the A. F. of L.—even when our government wanted it otherwise—refused to associate itself with the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. We always considered the W.F.T.U. only an instrument of Russian imperialist aggression and a tool of the Cominform for totalitarian infiltration, subversion and world domination by Moscow.

That is why the A. F. of L. worked overtime to smash this Kremlin conspiratorial agency. That is why we worked with equal fervor and energy to help build an international organization of bona fide free trade unions—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The American people can count on the A. F. of L. to pursue its constructive and democratic course with unswerving faith, unflinching determination and mounting energy. The fight for freedom and peace will be won in the factories and on the farmlands. The A. F. of L. means to have this fight won and to have the American labor movement in the forefront of this most important battle of all times.

American Labor Looks at the World

No. VII

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What Are They Doing About Migration?

By GEORGE P. DELANEY

*International Representative,
American Federation of Labor*

EUROPE today has a surplus population estimated conservatively at 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 people. These people constitute a serious drag on the economies of the countries involved. All of them are unemployed, though a large number are employable. The vast majority of these people are Italians and Germans, and among the latter are hundreds of thousands of refugees and escapees.

Efforts are being made by the European countries involved to absorb as many as possible of these surplus people into their economies. There is, however, a limit to what they can do, and these surplus people may well be a running sore to these countries for many years to come unless something is done about the situation.

This surplus population problem is one of international concern, and it can only be solved on an international basis. But pitifully little is being done. The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration had moved only 138,000 in the eighteen months from its inception to October 1 of last year.

Now, what can be done to speed up the emigration of the surplus Europeans? In the first place, jobs must be found in other countries for the employable members of this group. Second, in order to fit these people into job openings there must be some vocational training or retraining. Third, transportation to the new country must be provided. And finally, reception centers must be established in the receiving countries to help in the placement of the migrants, as well as to be of assistance to them during the beginning months of adjustment. These are the technical and practical facilities that must be provided.

At the same time there is a very important factor that is often lost



MR. DELANEY

sight of in dealing with this vital problem of migration. Most of the people in Europe in the surplus category are not displaced persons who are at least momentarily stateless. They are, on the contrary, nationals of the countries in which they are residing. This is a tremendously important fact to bear in mind when one is trying to encourage this type of person to migrate to a foreign country.

Though unemployed, this German or Italian or Dutch national has various social security rights such as unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions and health insurance. He has his roots in his own country, and the problem is to induce him to leave. If one could arrange to transfer some of these rights with the worker from his native country to the country to which he is going, then a major obstacle to migration would be removed.

Another thing that potential migrants fear is possible exploitation in

the country to which they are going, and here again a major obstacle to migration could be removed if appropriate legislation were adopted by countries seeking migrants.

It is just this type of legislation with which the International Labor Organization has been concerned since March, 1920, when it set up its first tripartite committee to study measures to protect migrant workers. Out of the work of this committee came in 1925 the adoption of a convention relating to equality of treatment in accident compensation, under which the ratifying states undertook to treat aliens in the same way as nationals without any condition as to residence.

Later on, in 1935, the I.L.O. dealt with the problem of old-age pensions in a convention regarding the maintenance of migrants' pension rights. And in 1949 the I.L.O. revised and finalized a convention and a recommendation relating to migration for employment.

During those early years the I.L.O. was dealing with problems relating to selection, placement and vocational training, but it was not until 1947 and 1948 that the whole question of manpower—which migration is a part—became of tremendous importance in the minds of people not only in Europe but throughout the world.

Through financial assistance from the Economic Cooperation Administration and the O.E.E.C. countries, the International Labor Organization intensified its work in migration during 1950 and 1951, and shortly before the International Refugee Organization went out of existence the I.L.O. came up with a plan under which it proposed to use the I.R.O. transportation setup, mesh it in with some of its regular operations, and assist, over a five-year period, some 1,700,

000 European migrants to settle elsewhere.

Thanks to Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, the U.S. government delegates to a special migration conference called by the I.L.O. in 1951 were forced to smother this plan. This was done even though many countries thought that the I.L.O. was the organization best fitted to do the job.

The United States had \$10,000,000 to give to a migration agency, but Senator McCarran had placed on these funds the proviso that they could not go to an organization or its subsidiary which had any Communist country as a member. This meant that the I.L.O. and the United Nations were effectively cut off from U.S. financial support for any migration work that might be instituted through this \$10,000,000 contribution.

A year earlier the Senate Committee on Government Operations had set out in a report that it should be the policy of the U.S. government to refrain from setting up any new international agencies but rather should consolidate international agencies within the framework of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the United States urged Belgium to call a special migration conference two months after the I.L.O.'s ill-fated Naples meeting. At this conference there was organized what is today known as the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration (I.C.E.M.).

At the time the Committee was set up it was clearly understood that its sole purpose was that of providing transportation for persons who needed assistance in migrating to other countries. For this reason I.C.E.M. took over the transportation division of the I.R.O. almost intact, so that it was able to get into operation fairly quickly; but, even so, it succeeded in moving only 138,000 persons in its first eighteen months.

Transport is only a minor part of the total migration job. Now I.C.E.M. has moved into broader fields in order "to facilitate the processing and placing of migrants." These new fields include special vocational training, language training and a wider distribution of information concerning opportunities and conditions of living in the receiving countries. The Committee, according to its latest report, also believes that great attention "must be given to the development of new and improved methods of

selection, trade testing and processing, and in the reception, placement and distribution of migrants after arrival at the port."

These are for the most part fields in which the International Labor Organization has been operating.

What we have in I.C.E.M. is a strange international monstrosity that has no relationship to the United Nations, yet concerns itself with matters in the field of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. And the United States, which prides itself on businesslike procedures, is the father of this monstrosity.

The State Department adviser, in his report on the sixth session of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration which appeared in the January 4 issue of the Department of State's *Bulletin*, stated quite frankly that the U.S. representative to this conference "stressed throughout the discussions that both the volume of movements and the contributions to the operational expenditure by other governments had been disappointing to the U.S. government."

"He also pointed out that failure on the part of the Committee to raise the additional \$4,652,299 in the early part of 1954 could easily result in the termination of the Committee's activities because the Committee had not yet succeeded in building up a working capital fund which is needed to maintain a sound cash position at all times," the report said.

Despite all these factors, however, the Committee went ahead and adopted a final draft of a constitution which it asked member governments to accept at the earliest possible date. When the constitution is adopted, the Committee will then have even more formal status, with a life-span of three to five years. Presumably this constitution will be sent to the U.S. Senate for ratification within the near future.

In the meantime, the I.L.O. is continuing to do its normal work in the field of migration. Under the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, too, the I.L.O. has been able to be of service to various countries which have asked for assistance in the setting up of employment services and job classification schemes.

In Italy the I.L.O. has recently set up a training center in Genoa, where potential migrants are being sent along with others in need of training

or retraining. The I.L.O. is working with the World Health Organization on the medical criteria to be applied to the selection of migrants. The I.L.O. is helping certain governments on matters of selection as well as selection techniques. The I.L.O. is working with the Food and Agriculture Organization where land settlement is concerned.

And most important of all, the International Labor Organization is carrying out the important function given to it by the United Nations Administrative Coordinating Committee of being responsible for the general coordination of all United Nations and specialized agency activities in the field of migration.

At the International Labor Conference in June the question of migrant workers in underdeveloped countries will be on the agenda for the purpose of discussing possible international regulations. A report already published deals with the nature and extent of labor migration to these underdeveloped countries, the measures taken to mitigate its consequences, and the situation of migrant workers at the place of employment.

Migration is a very complicated matter. It is not simply a transportation problem. It is not simply a question of increased quotas. It is these things—but it is also all sorts of other questions involving training, placement, medical standards and the protection of the migrant and his social security rights.

Basic to all these activities is the vital question of how one can induce a potential migrant in Europe—who, though actually surplus, may never recognize himself as such—to pull up stakes and go with his family to some far-off land.

The International Labor Organization, operating upon this fundamental premise and with its many-sided program, is laying the unspectacular groundwork for a larger movement of peoples either within or from Europe that will provide greater job opportunities for some of Europe's surplus and thus strengthen democracy.

Are You
REGISTERED?

Labor Advances in Fort Wayne

By E. ROBERT LEACH
President, Fort Wayne Federation of Labor

THE history of the labor movement in Fort Wayne, Indiana, has its parallel in the history of our city. Both have grown slowly but steadily. Today Fort Wayne is one of the largest semi-industrial cities in the state, and the labor movement has made great strides in organizing Fort Wayne workers.

The leadership of unionism in Fort Wayne through all of its history has been conservative. It has been the belief that the true way to add to the prosperity of working men and women is by obtaining concessions from employers little by little. It has been our endeavor to teach that it is desirable to make sure that the concessions sought are wholly consistent with justice and right, deserved by the employed and possible for the employer.

One of the principles traditionally followed has been the use of amicable discussion rather than acrimonious dispute. Through its history the Fort Wayne labor movement has demonstrated that any employer who desires to deal justly with his employees has nothing to fear from organized labor. Because of this basic philosophy we have been able to secure and retain the confidence of the public in general.

The end result of our conservatism has more than fulfilled the expectations of friends of our cause. Labor has benefited substantially. The various unions of our city have, through the latter years, developed a relationship that is cordial and friendly.

Organized labor in Fort Wayne was born in 1864 with the formation of the Typographical Union and the Brotherhood of the Footboard. The latter organization changed its name a few years later to the Brotherhood of Engineers. Since the organization of these pioneer Fort Wayne unions the labor movement has had its ups and downs, but sacrifice, determination and enthusiasm on the part of the early union members and those who followed them helped to create a labor movement which today is an important factor in our city and state.

The Fort Wayne Trades and Labor Council was organized December 20, 1887. The Cigarmakers took the lead. Helping in the formation of this first central labor union were the Carpenters, Printers, Bricklayers and the Knights of Labor. The Trades and Labor Council developed into an effective medium for improving the living standards of working people in Fort Wayne.

In February, 1891, the Council felt there was a decided need for a newspaper to present the position of organized labor on issues of the day. A weekly paper called the *Labor Herald* was established. Wage-earners and labor organizations in Fort Wayne received a great deal of benefit in an educational way through this new venture. Notwithstanding the good work accomplished by the paper, it proved to be such a financial burden that in 1892 the Council transferred the *Labor Herald* to private individuals, who disposed of it to a local publisher.

IN THOSE days many mass meetings were held by the Council to discuss subjects affecting labor. A great deal of emphasis was placed on organizing new crafts. The Council was instrumental in forming the local Streetcar Employees Union, Tailors Union, Printing Pressmen's Union, Independent Working Girls Union and many others. By 1893 Fort Wayne stood at the head of the organized labor movement in Indiana. There were thirty-three different craft unions that were active two years after the Council was formed.

The Trades and Labor Council was a delegate organization that did not possess or attempt to exercise any authority over the various unions. It did serve as a means of easy and rapid communication among the many locals. The Council was recognized for its leadership in the field of union activities so that its cooperation was invariably sought. Through its Organizing, Arbitration and Legislative Committees, the labor movement in

Fort Wayne was strengthened and made progress.

The Council's interest in community activities was very apparent. It influenced the city officials to pass an ordinance protecting home merchants against transient dealers, provide a public hall in the city building for mass meetings of labor unions, and bring about many needed improvements and reforms.

In the 1893 official "Blue Book" of the Council we find the following:

"The progress of union labor up to the present, great as it has been, is but the beginning. It will reach outward and upward until the time when the conditions that called it into existence shall have perished, a time when all of the people, in one grand union, moved by justice and the spirit of peace, will no longer require our organization to protest against injustice or alone stand for the rights of the weak against the strong."

The Trades and Labor Council continued to function until 1902. On September 4 of that year the Fort Wayne Federation of Labor received its charter from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. The central body has operated under this charter ever since —more than fifty-one years.

Local unions whose names appear on the charter are: Typographical Union, No. 78; Electrical Workers, No. 138; Team Drivers, No. 78; Steam Engineers, No. 19; Horseshoers, No. 81, and Musicians, No. 58. With the exception of the Horseshoers, all of the unions listed on the charter are still taking a functional part in the activities of the Fort Wayne Federation of Labor. This is a record that we are extremely proud to call to the attention of all working people.

In 1904 Harry D. Keller was elected to the office of president of the newly formed Federation. He is still active today and serves as trustee. Through the years he has been a delegate representing the Typographical Union. Because this local

is a pioneer union in our city and because of Mr. Keller's years of union experience, we are continually seeking advice and guidance from both sources.

As recently as 1945 Mr. Keller helped lead his union through a six weeks' strike. The basic issue in that strike was seniority rights of the Typographical Union's membership.

Through all of the vicissitudes of unionism in Fort Wayne since the formation of the Federation, we have always been vitally interested in the socio-economic status of working people. It has been our consistent policy to be guided by the A. F. of L. Executive Council on matters of national and international character.

We are striving to reach the grass roots of our membership. Through

standing and special committees, we are making every effort to educate the younger union members. The program of the Fort Wayne Federation of Labor includes not only the economic aspect of labor but also educational, cultural and social activities. We believe that unions must offer opportunities to their members to learn the value of their organizations, to take part in community projects and to be of service to democracy. In the complex world of tomorrow, all working people, regardless of race, color or creed, must take an active part.

To bring about better understanding, the Federation has been sponsor of a "Good Fellowship Rally" along with management, churches and Fort Wayne citizens in general.

The Fort Wayne labor movement has made considerable progress in recent years. We have A. F. of L. members serving on practically every social, welfare and character-developing agency in our city. We have a Labor Participation Committee, made up of organized labor, which is a division of our Community Chest.

This kind of program is excellent public relations. This kind of cooperation demonstrates to all citizens that organized labor is interested in our community, state and nation as well as in unionism itself.

Union activities are important—and not only for union members. The story of Fort Wayne, Indiana—like the story of America—would be incomplete without the story of organized labor and its contributions.

FROM OTHER LABOR PUBLICATIONS

Monopolists at Heart

From The Railway Clerk

The American businessman vows allegiance to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and to the virtue of free competition. But when one of his competitors undercuts his prices, there is indignation all over the place. As a theory competition is wonderful, but as a practical method of increasing sales, competition is terrible.

There was an example of this competition versus controlled prices recently when a carpet manufacturer cut prices six per cent. Immediately one of the industry's top four companies issued a blast against "cheap, misleading" price-cutting advertisements and stated that it was bad for trade. The president of another company declared that price cuts are "detrimental to the best interests of floor covering retailers, distributors and manufacturers" and implied that the price cuts were not based on "sound economic considerations."

This love of controlled prices and antagonism to competition is not confined to the large corporations. Even small businessmen are monopolists at heart and their success in working out price control aids has been noteworthy.

So-called fair trade laws, which are anything but fair to consumers, allowing manufacturers to dictate prices at which retailers shall sell their products, have been enacted in forty-four states.

The present economic situation indicates that production has outrun purchasing power and that it will take price cuts to move inventories now piling up.

The businessman's complaint that buying is under or not much above this time last year can be remedied by lower prices. When prices are right, the public will buy. When the public thinks the price is too high, goods will pile up on the merchants'

shelves or in warehouses. This business principle was proved recently by merchants in Dallas and Philadelphia, auto dealers in San Francisco and appliance firms in Boston, Chicago and on the West Coast which cut prices. The resulting increase in business was spectacular.

Lower prices increase purchasing power; lower prices speed up turnover and increase profits. Just as lower prices moved top-heavy inventories in 1949, lower prices can move goods in 1954.

Bricker's Baby

From The Plasterer and Cement Mason

"Section 2. A treaty shall become effective as internal law in the United States only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty."

This is the section of the Bricker Amendment which has stirred up almost as much controversy as the Prohibition Amendment, of late lamented memory. Though Bricker says he means by the section quoted merely to make invalid any treaty whose terms confer legislative powers on Congress not already contained in the Constitution, most serious students of the Constitution, and the President himself, are of the view that Section 2 would compel the President and the Congress to seek approval of the forty-eight state legislatures before there could be any international agreement or valid treaty.

The President has said that the clause would force the United States to relapse into the Articles of Confederation, the loose machinery that bound the country before the Constitution became the law of the land. The machinery was so loose, in fact, that the first Congress was virtually power-

less to transact business, because the separate states did what they wanted to do and no more.

There can be absolutely no doubt that the Bricker Amendment is an attack on the power of the Presidency and another attempt to put blinders and halters on our conduct of foreign affairs. There are still those who believe the United States can live alone and like it, despite all the present facts of life—facts which include supersonic flight and the atomic bomb. Despite these facts, the flight from reality persists.

High Cockalorum

From The Butcher Workman

What kind of leaders are needed in the trade union movement today? Certainly when any of us, through ego or power, engage ourselves in a manner that we are not in common touch with those we represent, such leadership is bad. When any of us develop the feeling that we can lord it over some other union because we have power, then power becomes a liability rather than an asset. The working masses of our nation will never have deep respect for the power in our movement which compels them to belong to this union today and to some other union tomorrow because of our jurisdictional disputes.

Human beings just can't be handled in this manner, except through the use of force—and force has been the weapon of tyrants from the first time that one person gained superiority over another. We shall never believe that by edict or decree workers should be handled as a common commodity, nor do we feel that they should be compelled to leave an organization to which they have belonged for years without their full consent.

It is natural that the officers of an international union desire and work for greater

numerical strength, but if in growth fair play and cooperation are cast to the winds, it is likely that in such growth an organization loses its very soul. Once we forget the idea of brotherhood and love in the trade union movement, then our organizations become "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

These are trying days for the labor movement, as well as trying for our nation. Every leader in the trade union movement should remember that workers do not want to war upon each other. If they are compelled to do so over the silly question of jurisdiction, there most certainly will be a day of reckoning for the leaders of labor who believe in such warfare.

We believe that President George Meany, at the St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L., hit the nail on the head when he criticized international unions that would make warfare upon other unions for the sole purpose of obtaining a few thousand more members. We are with President Meany all the way in his honest and sincere attempts to recreate a unified labor movement under which we could all return to labor's fundamental idea of giving to each other a helping hand when a helping hand is needed.

The industrial tycoons of our nation, through their closely knit associations, may want to destroy us. Certainly we should not help them accomplish this task by our inter-quarrels, our selfishness and our lack

of faith in each other. Ours should be a movement of understanding, of friends, devoid of attacks upon each other, devoid of undue suspicion.

Only in unity can we stand. Disunity will bring on disaster. The labor movement needs no High Cockalorums to keep it successful.

The Worst Accidents

From Electrical Workers' Journal

We saw a little quotation the other day that left an impression on us. It was this:

"The worst accidents happen in the middle of the road."

It's true, friends. Too many of us today live lives of indecision. We can't make up our minds. We will not take a stand on anything.

Maybe we have principles, but it's pretty hard to know what they are if we are so indecisive and wishy-washy and fearful of offending others that we go swaying down the middle of the road, easy prey to be knocked off by the first "motorist" who has a mind to do it.

It isn't always easy in these confusing times to know what is right and which side to stand on. But we can read, and think, and follow the advice of our A. F. of L. leaders whom we respect. We should be able to pick the right side, but, brothers and sisters, do pick a side. Take a stand on the

vital issues which concern us every day as working men and women, as trade unionists, as Americans.

Choose carefully, but take a side and stand up for it, fight for it. Don't let a single day find us wandering aimlessly down the middle of the road, waiting for an accident to happen.

For Our Children

From The American Teacher

The statement is sometimes made by those who do not understand the magnitude and scope of the labor movement that the American Federation of Teachers is concerned only with salaries for teachers.

There are 37,000,000 boys and girls attending our schools and colleges today. Over half of these are not receiving the kind of educational opportunity which this prosperous country can provide.

We are spending twice as much for animal husbandry as we are for the education of our children. The term "a dog's life" used to imply that a dog's existence was deplorable. There are an estimated 20,000,000 licensed dogs in America today. Most of these dogs have better homes, better food and better sanitation than one-third of America's children.

Think of it! Almost any dog—excepting only the street mongrel—has a better life than nearly 13,000,000 of our boys and girls.

Great Label Show Opens April 1

By RAYMOND F. LEHENNEY

Director, A. F. of L. Union Label Industries Show

THE 1954 Union Label Industries Show—"World's Greatest Labor-Management Exhibition"—will be staged April 1 through April 6 at the modern and magnificent Pan-Pacific Auditorium in beautiful Los Angeles. It is predicted that this one, our ninth show, will be the biggest, best and most successful ever held. Famous celebrities of screen, stage, radio and television will make many personal appearances and add a fiesta spirit to the dynamic cavalcade.

A dazzling array of union label products made by A. F. of L. members and their fair employers will be on view in animated displays at elaborately decorated booths, thus giving dramatic accent to the human element as well as to material values. These union-made, nationally known brands have become household words. The products of union labor and unionized companies will be seen in scores of fascinating and instructive exhibits graphically charting

the unparalleled progress of America's industrial life.

Display areas of national and international unions will be sparked by "live" exhibits where skilled artisans actually turn out the goods that made America famous throughout the world. Other A. F. of L. members will demonstrate efficient union services.

A record-breaking attendance is expected. Admission is free. There is no profit incentive in the popular enterprise. The entire purpose of the unique exhibition is to prove to American consumers that union label merchandise and union services are tops in quality and craftsmanship.

The now-famous Union Label Industries Show—the most outstanding event of its kind—is sponsored by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and is confined exclusively to A. F. of L. unions and to manufacturers and other firms which have collective bargaining agreements with those unions.

Miracle on the Waterfront

(Continued from Page 14)

sphere of fear and coercion had been dispelled.

Every waterfront expert predicted that the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. would lose by as much as 10 to 1. Despite a last-minute barrage of educational material, including a television appeal by President Meany of the American Federation of Labor on the eve of the election, the odds remained 10 to 1 against the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. But when the votes were opened two days later, more than 7,500 longshoremen had voted for the A. F. of L. union, 9,000 for the racketeer I.L.A., and 4,500 votes were challenged.

The mobster outfit, with all its entrenched power and with all the help from employers, failed to win. The mob, shipping interests, government officials, the entire city, all were stunned by the size of the vote for the new A. F. of L. union.

A. F. of L. President Meany acted promptly. After receiving reports on the conditions which existed around the polls, he issued a statement charging coercion and intimidation without precedent in a bargaining election. He announced the American Federation of Labor would protest the election.

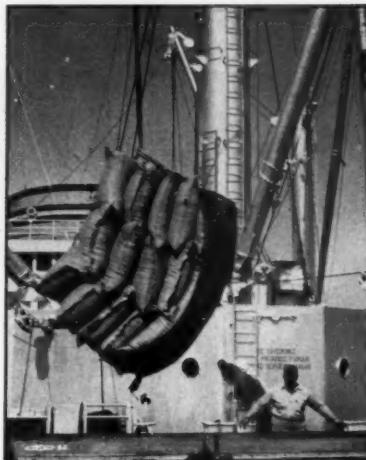
His swift move brought an immediate investigation by the National Labor Relations Board, the State and City of New York, and the Waterfront Commission of New York and New Jersey.

The mobster I.L.A. threatened to call a coastwise strike to force immediate certification. It appealed to President Eisenhower to order the NLRB to certify it at once.

Those 7,500 I.L.A.-A. F. of L. votes were a stone wall that resisted all pressures. They were the cloud in the sky that foretold the doom of the racketeer I.L.A. in the Port of New York.

The regional office of the NLRB sustained the A. F. of L. objections to the election and the Board ordered hearings in New York. Expectations are that the Board will order a new election—probably in the next few weeks.

In the meantime, the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. is growing stronger every day. Signed membership cards now exceed 14,000, more than one-half of



Longshoremen load and unload ships

the men in the unit. Local unions are being established. Charters have been issued in Brooklyn, Manhattan, Hoboken, Jersey City and Newark.

Union meetings are being held regularly. Shop steward and officers' training classes have begun.

Most significantly, more than one hundred piers now have shop stewards representing the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. members on those docks. Most of the stewards were recognized by the employers upon demand.

At some piers, however, it was necessary to post picket lines and conduct work stoppages from a few hours to three weeks to end the discrimination against I.L.A.-A. F. of L. members.

All of the shop stewards were elected in democratic meetings of the I.L.A.-A. F. of L. members on the piers.

Building the union is the principal target pending the new election.

The longshoremen of the Port of New York, who were told they couldn't do it, are well along with the job, and they've earned the respect and admiration of American Federation of Labor members and all Americans.

Labor Pushes Traffic Safety

NEARLY 100 union representatives who recently attended the White House Conference on Highway Safety are now lining up public support for a nationwide highway traffic safety program. At the conference they emphasized that the government "must do more than just getting people on traffic safety committees and boards."

The members of the conference's Labor Committee met for two days in Washington and adopted an eight-point program which was incorporated in the final report of the parley. One of the co-chairmen of the Labor Committee was Raymond F. Lehene, secretary-treasurer of the Union Labor and Service Trades Department.

The Labor Committee adopted and obtained conference endorsement of the following major resolutions:

(1) Labor must be more active in traffic safety by allying itself with traffic commissions or boards, by affiliating with civic groups, and by making as many contacts with other people and organizations, such as police departments, sheriffs, traffic divisions, state and local governments, as possible.

(2) The White House should establish a permanent organization in

Washington to coordinate traffic safety activities of labor and other interested groups throughout the country. Necessary funds to staff and operate this agency should be appropriated.

(3) The budget of the Bureau of Motor Carriers, Interstate Commerce Commission, should be increased to enable the I.C.C. to expand its present eighteen-man safety inspector staff to 112 safety inspectors, six safety supervisors and fifteen clerks.

(4) Every local and state safety council, State Federation of Labor, State Legislature, label council and commissioner of motor vehicles should arrange for labor participation in all traffic safety programs.

The Labor Committee adopted a resolution recognizing labor's obligation to make its full contribution in reducing "the disgraceful toll of life and limb" resulting from traffic accidents in the United States.

"The overwhelming majority of those killed and maimed on the streets and highways each year are wage-earners or members of their families," the resolution said. "To be successful, traffic safety programs must be carried into the homes and workshops where the people spend most of their active lives."

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Oregon Local 1 of the Bricklayers has completed a new agreement with the Mason Contractors Association of Portland. The contract includes an hourly wage increase and a 2½-cent hourly increase in the employer contribution to the union's health and welfare program.

►Local 1701, Electrical Workers, Owensboro, Ky., has signed agreements with three electrical contractors affiliated with the Associated General Contractors, Evansville, Ind. The contracts provide a 10-cent hourly increase.

►Local 200, Building Service Employes, has signed a two-year contract with twenty companies in Syracuse, N. Y., after a strike. The union has won a pay hike of 2½ cents an hour. The men will receive five cents more next year.

►Local 86, Typographical Union, Reading, Pa., and the Berks County commercial printing companies have signed a new agreement providing a wage increase of \$2.65 weekly and an improved vacation program.

►Union contracts providing a shorter workweek, compensating wage increases and other gains have been signed by the Northeast Department of the Ladies' Garment Workers and Pennsylvania garment firms.

►Lodge 681 of the Machinists has won a 9½-cent hourly wage increase at the C. Lee Cook Manufacturing Company in Louisville. One hundred members are affected by the agreement.

►Local 89, Teamsters, has negotiated a new agreement with Hirsch Brothers, Louisville, providing a wage increase of 11 cents an hour and fringe benefits.

►Local 803, Auto Workers, has won wage increases of 6 to 20 cents an hour at the Stoody Manufacturing Company in Los Angeles.

►Local 785 of the State, County and Municipal Employes was organized recently at famed Pendleton, Ore.



The Seafarers are again holding an art contest, and this is one of the many entries received from talented members of the union

►Lodge 1635, Machinists, recently signed contracts with two freight lines in Albuquerque, N. M., providing additional welfare benefits and increases of 20 to 49½ cents an hour. Agreements were reached with the Santa Fe Trails Transportation Company and the Navajo Freight Lines.

►Chosen as bargaining agent for Tri-State Corporation employes in Elizabethton, Tenn., the Textile Workers obtained a contract boosting wages an average of eight cents an hour. A five-cent increase will become effective July 1.

►Local 326 of the Chemical Workers, Detroit, has negotiated a new contract with Evans, Winter and Hebb, Inc. The agreement calls for an 8-cent increase in base pay, a new vacation schedule and other benefits.

►Local 435, Laborers, has negotiated a new contract with the Monroe County General Contractors Association, Rochester, N. Y. About 200 union members get a 10-cent hourly increase, retroactive to January 1.

►Local 144, Teamsters, Kroger Company in Terre Haute, Ind., have signed contracts giving 85 workers an 8½-cent hourly increase, a health and welfare provision and an improved vacation plan.

►Workers at the Cosmos Imperial Mill, Hamilton, Ont., Canada, chose the A. F. of L. Textile Workers as their bargaining agent in an election conducted by the Ontario Labor Relations Board.

►Substantial wage increases have been won for members of District 9, Machinists, employed at cutting die firms in St. Louis and vicinity. The boosts are retroactive to last December.

►A new contract providing guaranteed base pay as well as other benefits has been negotiated by the Insurance Agents and the mammoth Prudential Insurance Company.

►Wage increases have been won by Local 322, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, for the employes of the Globe Union Corporation in Milwaukee.

►Locals 485 and 471, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, have gained victory following a walkout at the foundry and machine divisions of the Muskegon Piston Ring Company, Muskegon, Mich. Local 485, representing workers at the Muskegon plant, received an hourly boost of six cents plus fringe benefits. At the Sparta Foundry Division, Local 471 won eight cents an hour.

►Thirty-five East German workers at a state-run chemical plant at Sonderhausen were so productive that they were rewarded with a special tour of East Berlin, which is in Communist hands. Six of the "work heroes" promptly demonstrated how they feel about communism by escaping to free West Berlin.

►Local 238 of the Teamsters has completed negotiations for a contract at the Coca-Cola Bottling Company at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The agreement calls for an increase in commission rates plus a monthly guarantee.

►The Pattern Makers in Rochester, N. Y., have won representation elections at the DeRoller Wilshaw Pattern Works and the Corbett-Steeves Pattern Works.

►Local 199, Ladies' Garment Workers, waged a short and successful strike against the Sportswear Manufacturers Association, Toronto, Ont., Canada. All demands were won.

►Members of Local 278, Retail Clerks, employed in the Beckley, W. Va., store of the G. C. Murphy Company have won an across-the-board wage increase of \$1.25 per week.

►An iron lung has been given to St. Mary's Hospital in Cincinnati by Local 212 of the Electrical Workers and the Cincinnati chapter of the National Electrical Contractors Association.

►Local 381, Paper Workers, has negotiated increases ranging to 30 cents an hour at three box plants in New York City.

►Local 171, Laundry Workers, has won a five-cent hourly increase in negotiations with F. W. Means and Company, Decatur, Ill.

►Employees of the Hy-Grade Atlas Company, Scranton, Pa., have selected the International Association of Machinists as their bargaining agent.

►Local 163, Motion Picture Operators, has signed a new three-year contract with thirteen suburban theaters in Louisville, Ky., providing graduated increases. The operators receive a \$3 weekly wage boost for the first year and will get an additional \$2 each for the second and third years.

►Local 18579, Optical Workers, Rochester, N. Y., has signed a new agreement with the Rochester Division of the Shuron Optical Company. Nearly 700 employees are affected by the new contract, which calls for pay hikes up to 12 cents an hour.

►Steel workers at the Stalinváros plant in Budapest, capital of Communist-ruled Hungary, continue to receive promises instead of food, although Hungary had a bumper harvest last summer.

►A wage increase has been obtained by Local 1393, Retail Clerks, Reading and Berks County, Pa., at the Cassel Stores. The contract calls for an additional pay boost in July.

►Local 453 of the Electrical Workers and City Utilities, Hannibal, Mo., have signed a new contract. The agreement gives the workers a 7.3 per cent wage increase during 1954.

►A strike of Local 20, Bookbinders, at the Fabricon Products plant, River Rouge, Mich., has resulted in a new contract providing wage increases and improved working conditions.

►Local 582, State, County and Municipal Employees, has obtained a reduction in work hours and a \$10 monthly salary increase in Lancaster County, Nebr.

►Local 78, Teamsters, Oakland, Calif., has obtained 10-cent hourly wage boosts, retroactive to last November 1, at Peerless Stages, Inc., and the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company.

►The Electrical Workers and the West Texas Utilities Company have signed a one-year contract, ending a sixteen-year battle for union recognition.

►Local 451, Theatrical Stage Employees, has negotiated its first agreement with television station WKST, New Castle, Pa.

►Wage increases of 28 cents an hour and enlarged welfare benefits have been won by Lodge 737, Machinists.

►Locals of the State, County and Municipal Employees are chalking up gains in Maine. City employees affiliated with Local 1458, Lewiston, and Auburn city employees have won the forty-hour week, time and one-half for overtime, fourteen days of sick leave per year, two weeks' paid vacation, a seniority system and a grievance procedure.

►A pay increase and changes in working conditions have been obtained by the Street Railway Employees on the Virginia Transit Company. The new contract covers 1,100 employees in Richmond, Norfolk and Portsmouth.

►A weekly pay increase of \$3.93 and fringe benefits have been won by members of Local 2, Paper Handlers, employed in commercial printing establishments in Chicago. The new terms benefit 550 members.

►Local 435, Laborers, has negotiated a new contract with the Concrete and Aggregates Association of Rochester, N. Y. The new accord calls for a 10-cent hourly increase for about 150 union members.

►Wage boosts and fringe benefits are provided in the first agreement negotiated by the Textile Workers and the Cloverleaf-Freeland Corporation, Hazleton, Pa.

►Local 648, Retail Clerks, has obtained a \$3 weekly pay increase as the result of a pact with the Retail Grocers Association, San Francisco.



"We're happy as larks because we're going to see the great Union Label Industries Show in Los Angeles next month."

►Local 352, Typographical Union, has signed three new contracts with newspapers and commercial printing shops in the Phoenix, Ariz., jurisdiction. The pacts increase wages immediately, and there will be additional hikes next October.

►Members of Local 6, Hotel Workers, employed at the Union Club, New York City, returned to work after a one-week strike that won them substantial pay raises, increased employer payments for health insurance and other benefits.

►An increase of 10 cents an hour at Kraft Foods Company, Louisville, has been won under a new agreement between the company and Local 89, Teamsters.

►Members of Local 1031, Electrical Workers, will have their birthdays off with pay as the result of an accord reached with four firms in Chicago.

►Members of Locals 197 and 584 of the Paper Makers have secured a wage increase under the reopening clause in their contracts with the Rising Paper Company, Housatonic, Mass., and the Strathmore Paper Company, West Springfield, Mass.

►Wage increases of 25½ cents an hour, a 40-hour workweek and a cost-of-living escalator clause have been won by Division 282, Street Railway Employees, after arbitration with the Rochester (N. Y.) Transit Company.

►Local 516, Iron Workers, has reached agreement with the Schmitt Steel Company, Portland, Ore., on a wage increase of eight cents an hour and one additional paid holiday.

►Local 320 of the Firemen and Oilers was victor in a representation election at the Superdraulic, Inc., plant at Somerset, Ky. The vote was 19 to 5.

►Local 216, United Garment Workers, has been awarded a new contract at the E. S. Lurie Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Mo. The agreement includes a five-cent hourly wage hike, six paid holidays and an improved vacation plan.

►Local 953, Operating Engineers, has won an NLRB election at the Duval Sulphur and Potash Company, Carlsbad, N. Mex.

►Arbitration has given 4,000 members of the Cigarmakers in Tampa, Fla., a cost-of-living increase of approximately 8 per cent.

►Local 47, Electrical Workers, has won a higher wage scale at the Southern California Edison Company, Oakland, Calif.

►The Laborers have obtained a seven-cent hourly wage increase for all Oregon building construction laborers.

Unionists Will Exhibit Arts and Crafts

NEW YORK CITY soon will be seeing an art show with a difference. This will be the third annual labor art exhibition, sponsored this year by Labor Unions in Arts and Crafts. The show's title will be "When Work Is Done."

Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. vice-president, speaking at the last exhibit, said:

"It is to be hoped that this is but the inaugural of an effort that will unite trade unionists throughout America in future participation in like events. Aye, may we hope that this inaugural to leisure time and its contributions to the arts and crafts may ultimately become worldwide."

A display of handicrafts, paintings and sculpture by members of a score of unions will demonstrate the progress organized labor has made toward securing the benefits of leisure for working people as well as the creative talents of the individual artists. Locals, districts and internationals with headquarters in the New York area are participating.

"We're sometimes too engrossed in the next meal," says one artist-unionist, a cutter on ladies' dresses. "Sometimes we should think of our union as a group of people who are out not only to raise their standard of living but also to broaden their scope of life."

The "When Work Is Done" exhibit, originally sponsored by the New York Public Library, is now under the wing of Labor Unions in Arts and Crafts. The library's Service to Trade Unions is one of many participants. Stenographers and assembly-line workers, journalists, elevator operators, nurses, firemen, electricians, teachers and seamen are some of the groups that will be represented this year.

Lydia Miller, a knitgoods machine operator, will dis-

play decorators' tiles and leatherwork. She began her hobby out of interest in color harmony. She couldn't find vases with hues subtle enough to show off her handmade flowers, and so she decided to make her own.

Antoinette Iannucci is a garment worker and a spare-time painter. "I always wished I could paint," she says, "but who could afford such an expensive hobby, such expensive lessons?"

Miss Iannucci, who sews school uniforms for a living, belongs to the I.L.G.W.U., which provides free art classes for its members. Her ambition is to paint murals.

"Some day I will do murals," says Miss Iannucci. "But not for a living—that's too hard." She says "art is like a club" in her union. "We talk art, art, art. And we love it."

There are hundreds of tales of how the artistic trade unionists began and what art has meant to them. They speak of the joy of "knowing you can make something beautiful."

The labor art exhibit, plus a program of films, how-to-do-it demonstrations, singing, dramatic shows and other events, will be presented from April 22 through May 6. If you are in New York during that period and would like to know what scenes a fireman might paint or find out how to fashion a bracelet or mold a tray, look in on "When Work Is Done." The big show will be at 242 East 14th Street, Manhattan, not very far from where Sam Gompers had his very modest little office in the early days of the American Federation of Labor.

answer the call

1954 RED CROSS CAMPAIGN

join and serve

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Fair Wages for U.S. Employees

(Continued from Page 9)

groups. This could or could not result in the creation of a "divide and conquer" monster so familiar to many unions forced to deal with labor-baiting employers.

One other subtlety of the survey is a recommendation to permit lateral entry of "qualified personnel into supervisory positions in the postal field service." The historical promotion policy in the postal service has been recognition of seniority, skill, knowledge and responsibility gained on the job. Advancement has come up through the ranks. But the Fry deal is to remove "arbitrary barriers [which] prevent these positions being filled if necessary by qualified personnel who have gained the necessary experience outside of the postal service."

The postal establishment is big business. It employs approximately 500,000 people, with an annual payroll in excess of \$2,000,000,000. In the present year alone it is estimated that 53,700,000,000 pieces of mail will be handled.

The proposal to turn over the on-the-job supervision of a business of

such magnitude to "qualified personnel who have gained the necessary experience outside of the postal service" has disturbed many members of Congress. Representative John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island expressed a typical reaction when he said:

"Where in the name of common sense can you train men for service in postal operations except in the postal service? There is no comparable operation in the United States. Are we to have a return to the 'spoils system' in the federal government? Is this 'necessary experience outside the postal service' gained in political committees and parties? I do not believe that it can have any other meaning."

A rather extensive propaganda campaign has been going on to gain support for these recommendations from chambers of commerce, big business through the N.A.M. and postmasters who would receive handsome treatment under the proposed pay adjustment. The employee organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have registered a vigorous protest and would welcome

additional support from other national and international unions within the Federation. To postal employees the pay recommendations of George Fry & Associates, Inc., represent nothing more than an attempt to erect monuments for the generals and plain grave markers for the privates.

The postal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have unanimously endorsed the Withrow bill, H. R. 2344, providing for a horizontal annual increase of \$300 plus certain refinements in present laws affecting the entrance pay of new employees. There is also in the measure a provision to pay true time and one-half for postal substitutes. The Withrow measure and a companion bill affecting non-postal federal employees, known as H. R. 4556, have been warmly endorsed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor testified in favor of our pay legislation requests before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee on March 9.

Speaking for the Federation as a whole, President Meany gave the bills his unqualified endorsement—a support for which all federal employees are extremely grateful.

White-Collar Awakening

(Continued from Page 13)

largest unit in the international union. It has organized about 80 per cent of the hotel industry, about 90 per cent of the ice cream industry and about 50 per cent of the milk industry. It is a diversified white-collar union located in almost all fields of endeavor or in that metropolitan area.

In the same city another local union of the Office Employees International Union embraces in its membership all of the office and clerical employees of the New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange and the Cotton Exchange.

In Minneapolis and Milwaukee, O.E.I.U. local unions have made and are making great organizational strides. Even in Texas, where anti-labor laws exist, the Office Employees International Union is making giant strides. The American National Insurance Company in Galveston, the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation at Fort Worth, the Insurance

Company of Texas at Dallas and the Texas Company at Port Arthur are typical examples of large firms recently organized in Texas.

In Canada the major paper mills, which furnish most of the paper used in the United States, have been organized during the last few years. The Abitibi Power and Paper Company, the Canadian International Paper Company, the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company and Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills—the last two are located in Newfoundland—are examples of the O.E.I.U. drive to unionize clerical workers. These companies are all under contract with the Office Employees International Union.

To expedite the growth of this already rapidly growing union, a series of organizational conferences has been instituted whereby at the end of March the number of international union organizers in the field will have

been trebled as compared with the same stage of 1953.

The activities of our young international union have excited the interest and cooperation of the older and stronger unions of the American Federation of Labor. Some of these unions and some State Federations of Labor are contributing time, money and organizers to help our drive to organize the white-collar workers. We see today an awakening of white-collar interest in unionization. We are convinced that this awakening will eventually bring about one of the strongest unions in the American organized labor movement.

**LLPE. Needs
Your Support
DO YOUR PART.
JOIN TODAY**

Words and Actions

By ARNOLD S. ZANDER

*President, American Federation
of State, County and Municipal Employees*

OFFICIALS in American public service have in most instances accepted the idea of trade unionism as an important integral part of our social and economic structure. Their acceptance of the doctrine for application to others or as a general doctrine having application in our economic system implies specific application in the agencies over which they officiate.

The problems of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees arise with officials who deny the doctrine altogether or accept it for application only in departments or institutions outside their authority. These officials contend that, although trade unionism is recognized in the law of the land and is part of our social fabric, it has no place in public service and particularly not among the employes under their supervision.

They often take the position that because federal labor laws do not apply to states as employers, it is illegal for states and other public agencies to take advantage of the benefits that have accrued to private industry through the application of modern methods in employer-employee relationships.

Our federal system of government is so arranged that the federal government does not have authority over the states as employers of labor. As a consequence, the exclusion of the states from federal labor legislation is natural and logical and does not even need to be enunciated. It follows from our federal system.

It does not follow, however, that it is illegal for the states to set up sensible regulations for their own management of their labor affairs. Because the federal government cannot regulate the states in their employer-employee relationships, there is just that much more reason why the states

should do in this area what is proper and sensible.

For an official to suggest that the states should not provide machinery for dealing sensibly with employees because the federal government does not have authority to make them do so is specious and evidence of either ignorance, irresponsibility or antagonism toward labor's right of organization.

The Constitution gives citizens the right "peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Public employes, being citizens, have the right to assemble and petition. To deny public employes the right to assemble and petition is to make them less than citizens under the Constitution.

Nevertheless, these rights are not infrequently denied or sabotaged. Our experience includes the case of the state university president who refuses to meet or to permit other university officials to meet with freely chosen representatives of organized university employes. In a recent address this university president said:

"Labor unions have become accepted parts of the fabric of society, and it is not necessary for them to wage a constant battle for recognition. Long experience with negotiation on issues has led to improvement in the collective bargaining process, and responsible union leadership has contributed greatly to the high quality of relations here."

This is fine language, but the university president does not practice what he preaches. Returning to the campus after having made the above statement, he refused to meet with representatives of the union of his employes. They wanted him to listen

to and discuss with them their petition for a redress of grievances.

There is nothing more frustrating, more destructive of morale than for a public official to refuse his employes the common decency of conferring with them through their chosen representatives about their conditions of employment. In view of our right under the Constitution to assemble and petition, such action on the part of a public employer is an abuse of authority.

He who enunciates the doctrine of trade unionism as did the university president and then refuses to practice his own doctrine is doubly at fault. His position is indefensible on moral grounds. His actions make a mockery of his fine words.

Fortunately, officials of this kind who say one thing and practice another, who must be judged by what they do and not by what they say, are the exceptions. We must find a way to bring these people and these situations into public view. We have too long contended with this attitude in private. The public official who denies the rights of assembly and petition is unworthy of high position and should be so recognized.

The official who opposes and sabotages organization, though he goes through the motions of meeting with employe representatives, is little better. We have for a long time kept track of unfair labor practices in public service. We must do more than merely keep a record.

As citizens we have a responsibility to exercise the rights and freedoms guaranteed to us in the Constitution. We owe it to ourselves and to our country to fight any denial of basic rights. Acceptance of a denial of rights may well result in their loss.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees will be even more aggressive in the future than in the past in meeting the challenge of public officials and administrators who deny the constitutionally guaranteed rights of assembly and petition and the opportunity to enjoy these rights through organization and collective negotiation.



MR. ZANDER

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AFL NEWS-REPORTER

Hollywood's A. F. of L. Council

By BUCK HARRIS

Public Relations Director, Screen Actors Guild

HOLLYWOOD is a union town. From the highest-paid actors through the scale of myriad technical and craft skills and talents, every group is organized—and most of them are members of the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council.

Butcher, baker, candlestick maker—you can find them all in the American Federation of Labor film unions along with cameramen, sound technicians, extras, bit players, stars, film editors, teamsters, painters, plasterers, property craftsmen, grips, gardeners, electricians, cartoonists, carpenters, chauffeurs, scenic artists, stenographers, projectionists, costumers, hair stylists, makeup artists, laboratory technicians, janitors, electricians, first-aid employees, dynamite handlers, waitresses, cooks, laborers and many others.

The Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council is composed of unions and guilds representing more than 24,000 employees in the motion picture studios in the Los Angeles area. These are the people who make most of the theatrical, television, industrial, educational and other types of motion pictures in the United States.

The A. F. of L. Film Council grew out of informal meetings of American Federation of Labor studio union leaders in 1945 and 1946. It officially came into being on December 2, 1947, as the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council of the California State Theatrical Federation, composed of A. F. of L. unions in the entertainment industry throughout the state. The Council was incorporated as a non-profit corporation in 1948.

Today the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council is recognized nationally by management and labor alike as a substantial force for good in the American motion picture industry.

The main purposes of the Council are to promote closer unity and cooperation among the American Federation of Labor unions in the motion picture industry, to promote harmonious industrial relations and advance the welfare of the industry and its employees by encouraging collective bargaining and conciliation

of disputes and to endeavor to stabilize employment in the motion picture industry and to reduce unemployment to the greatest extent possible.

The Film Council's constitution and by-laws provide that "no organization or person shall be eligible for membership in or recognition by this Council" who supports or holds membership in any Communist or Fascist organization or activity.

The officers of the Council are Carl G. Cooper, president; Ralph Clare, vice-president; Edwin T. Hill, treasurer; H. O'Neil Shanks, recording secretary; and Al Erickson and Pat Somerset, trustees.

On March 2 the Council, at a regular meeting, affirmed that it will continue to oppose runaway foreign production of films by American producers who go abroad to take advantage of cheap foreign labor. This stand has the approval and support of Richard Walsh, president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes. While there is some legitimate foreign production by American producers, such as those pictures whose stories require authentic foreign locales, the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council considers it un-American to make a picture like "Sitting Bull" outside the United States in order to escape paying American craftsmen American wages.

A. F. of L. unions participating in the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council are Screen Actors Guild, Screen Extras Guild, I.B.E.W. Local 40, Affiliated Property Craftsmen I.A.T.S.E. Local 44, Studio Grips I.A.T.S.E. Local 80, Studio Projectionists I.A.T.S.E. Local 165, Office Employees International Union Local 174, Building Service Employes International Union Local 278, Teamsters Brotherhood Studio Transportation Drivers Local 399, Waitresses and Cafeteria Workers Local 639, International Photographers I.A.T.S.E. Local 659, Film Technicians I.A.T.S.E. Local 683, International Sound Technicians I.A.T.S.E. Local 695, Costumers I.A.T.S.E. Local 705, Makeup Artists and Hair Stylists I.A.T.S.E. Local 706, Studio Utility Employes Local 724.

Laborers and Utility Workers I.A.T.S.E. Local 727, Studio Electrical Technicians I.A.T.S.E. Local 728, Set Painters I.A.T.S.E. Local 729, Ornamental Plasterers and Cement Finishers Local 755, First Aid Employes I.A.T.S.E. Local 767, Film Editors I.A.T.S.E. Local 776, Cine Technicians I.A.T.S.E. Local 789, Scenic Artists I.A.T.S.E. Local 816, Screen Cartoonists I.A.T.S.E. Local 839; affiliated internationals, Associated Actors and Artistes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Joint Board of Culinary Workers.

Housing Program

(Continued from Page 7)

Requirement of a mandatory builder's warranty against structural defects.

But labor and other pro-housing forces must realize that even the excellent programs we have advocated in the past may not be entirely attuned to today's housing needs. As the Executive Council said in its report to the A. F. of L. convention last September:

"Labor must also recognize that new times and new conditions have created new needs in housing as in all other parts of our economy."

As these new needs develop, the Housing Committee of the A. F. of L. will consider every workable suggestion for meeting them. We intend to appraise every proposal for housing action by two tests:

(1) Will the suggested action help to bring good housing within the financial reach of every group in the population?

(2) Will the proposed program help to sustain a high level of housing construction so that housing can play its full role in maintaining economic prosperity?

The Administration's proposals are inadequate because they fail to pass either of these tests. Only the bold and comprehensive approach the American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated will assure that the needed 2,000,000 houses a year will be built.

WHAT THEY SAY

Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters—The



workers are becoming convinced that the cards are being stacked against them, and the working people of the country will not be misled by "sunshine" speeches on how sound conditions are. Let's see an end to this unadulterated bunk about refusing to recognize the fast-approaching crisis and insist that there be inaugurated a program to deal with these pressing problems. The government and public officials are on the spot. I wonder if there is any business in America worthy of the name that, faced with the present economic situation, would not take remedial steps. Business concerns have to face the facts and act accordingly or perish. Banks have already started programs to deal with the economic situation and other business enterprises are also beginning to, in their own investment interest. But the government, unfortunately, seems to have a Pollyanna attitude which seems to say that everything is just dandy. The biggest fools are those who would fool themselves—and the economic crisis is no matter to fool with. We must have, without delay, national and local programs which will stimulate consumer income and purchasing power. We cannot tolerate indifference and callousness. We want a realization of the facts of life, and we want action—and action now!

Luigi Antonini, vice-president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union—When

General Eisenhower addressed the American Federation of Labor convention in 1952, he solemnly promised that if he were elected President, he would favor the elimination of those provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act

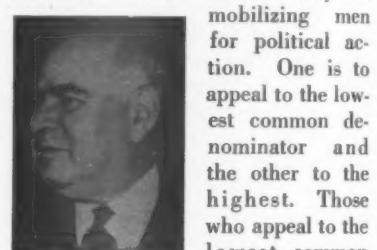


aimed at weakening and busting labor unions. In presenting to Congress his recommendations for revising the Taft-Hartley Act, President Eisenhower finally came down to earth, but his head was still in the clouds. What a disappointment! Instead of an improvement, Ike's proposals would make a controversial law more so. Talk about inconsistency. On the one hand, there is a crusade to cut down government interference in the lives of citizens; on the other hand, the President is proposing to extend such interference. In the midst of tirades against giant bureaucracy and the high cost of government services, laws are being proposed at the same time to spur bureaucracy by providing the National Labor Relations Board with new, more complicated procedures.

Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. vice-president—We hail the election of Ramon Magsaysay as President of the Philippines. It was a major blow to communism and augurs well for democracy in the Far East. President Magsaysay has been an uncompromising and highly successful enemy of the Communist-led guerilla bandits. He has linked his anti-Communist military campaign with a political campaign to stamp out corruption and establish a reign of social justice. American trade unionists are also delighted to see that his campaign pledges included a noteworthy statement on the rights of labor and the promise to promote freedoms and legal procedures facilitating the growth of a free and powerful labor movement. We have in the past deplored some of the methods employed by the former Minister of Labor, Jose Figueras, for under his regime corruption of labor leaders, gangsterism, communism and company unionism were evidenced to a disgraceful extent. It is to be hoped that President Magsaysay will bend every effort to lift from labor the burden under which it has

staggered so that such Philippine unions as the Free Workers may continue, unimpeded by the police, in their organizational drive among the workers, farmers and villagers. Certainly, a major measure of the social justice President Magsaysay seeks will be guaranteed by a strong and vigorous labor movement following democratic procedures and untainted by the control of company unionists, greedy employers or gangsters. We anticipate a new deal for labor in the Philippines, and we will watch the regime of President Magsaysay with deep interest and sympathetic understanding.

Herbert H. Lehman, Senator from New York—There are two ways of



mobilizing men for political action. One is to appeal to the lowest common denominator and the other to the highest. Those who appeal to the lowest common

denominator now appear to be in the ascendancy. Their hard core consists of the super-nationalists, the isolationists, the xenophobists, the totalitarians, the bigots and the last-ditch defenders of special privilege and discrimination. These forces have now combined for the attack against liberty while posing as patriots and fighters against communism. Their line of attack is to characterize all progress as "creeping socialism," all social gains as heresy, and liberalism itself as half-treason. Under the false banner of anti-communism, they would strip our country of its basic strength to oppose communism; they would divide the people with fear and prejudice; they would turn us against our allies and our allies against us; they would stamp out free thought, free inquiry and freedom itself. They appeal to the baser emotions—to fear, to hate, to prejudice, to bigotry. They use the technique of the big lie, the multiple untruth. They scorn decency. They have only contempt for integrity. For them the end—which is power—justifies any means.

Your Duty and Privilege
Attend Your Union Meetings
and Help Make Its Decisions

Sure Signs of Spring

THE letter carrier whistled as he came up the walk. He carried several pieces of mail in his hand to put in the letter-box on the porch. He smiled at the little boy who was energetically riding his tricycle in front of the house.

"That mail for us?" the little boy called out.

"Yes, Timmy. Some for your mother, a seed catalogue for your dad, and some letters and cards for your brother and sister."

"I sure hope there's a letter from Marge's sweetheart, or she'll get the blues again and won't play with me when I ask her to, and she'll be cross as a bear," said Timmy, pedaling along beside his friend. "She's in love, you know."

"No, I didn't know that," the mailman answered with a smile. "But it's all right, you know. It's spring."

"Well, I'm glad I'm a boy and won't have to get in love," said Timmy. "Say, my daddy will be glad to get the seed book. Mama says he gets the planting itch about this time, and if he has the new book he can get the itch out of his system sooner, 'cause he can get to work on his garden that much quicker."

"Your daddy has a nice garden every year," said the letter carrier. "I'm going to put these in the mailbox, then cross the street. You better stay on your side here. Don't go out in the street."

"I won't. I know my safety rules. I don't ever play in the street. And if I have to cross, I go to the corner. Then I look both ways. Right now I'm going down to Kenny's house and see if he's through with his breakfast milk yet. He's a slowpoke in the mornings."

Timmy wheeled away, waving as he zipped down the sidewalk.

Marge appeared at the door to meet the mailman. She was a pretty young girl, and her smile of delight as he handed her the longed-for letter was enough thanks for him.

"It really is spring," he mused, as he crossed over and went up the steps

of the house opposite. There he was met at the door by a busy housewife.

"If it's all bills, don't leave them," she said. "If it's advertisements, they're just as bad. They turn into bills sooner or later."

"Not so bad this morning," the postman said. "Looks like a couple of magazines and a letter." He handed her the things.

"I won't have much time for reading the magazines today," she said. "I'm starting my spring cleaning, and if I stop to as much as glance at the pictures, I'll never get through my schedule. I do want to be in ship-shape order by the weekend. Thanks anyway," she ended pleasantly.

He went down the steps.

"It all adds up," he thought. "Kids out playing, girls in love, seed catalogs and gardening books, house-cleaning and—"

He stopped. The next house had a large printed sign on the front door, "MEASLES."

"Yes, it's spring, all right," he thought. "Even to the measles."

As the postman turned the corner he saw a vacant lot, last week only a muddy plot, that was now a ball field. One boy was swatting away at the ball and others were waiting for their turns. A few girls were looking on, and good-natured shouts filled the air.

"Oh, there's the mailman," called Carol. "Come on, Jane. Let's see if we got anything."

The two girls raced to catch up to him.

"Anything for us?" they asked.

"Yes, lots of mail this morning," said the letter carrier, giving them each several pieces. "Here's a package for your little brother. Looks like a space helmet of some kind from the wrapper."

"Oh, that's what he's been saving those box-tops for," said the girl. "I never realized how many boxes of cereal a family had to eat in order to outfit one six-year-old in the latest space suits."

A flash that came tearing at them materialized into a small boy.

"Did it come?" he shouted. "Did it come?" He reached for the package. He could hardly believe it.

Thus the letter carrier made his way up to the corner. At the mailbox there he met three of his teen-age friends, Janice, Henry and Bob.

"We were waiting for you," fair-haired Janice greeted him. "We want to ask you a question. We're mailing out notices to our Junior Union membership and we want to know if we put them in the box here today, do you think they'll be delivered for sure tomorrow?"

"Are they all here in town?" he asked.

"All but one or two," Henry said. "A couple of the kids live on the rural route. If they get theirs the next day, it will be okay."

"Put them in," the letter carrier said. "They'll be picked up before noon and should get out on the morning delivery, even the rural route ones. Are you youngsters going to have some kind of an affair?" He was well acquainted with the young people on his route.

"Yes, we're getting ready for our Union Label Exhibit and Fair," said Bob. "We have one every year about the same time the big Union Label Industries Show is held. This year the big show is in Los Angeles and will be the biggest one held so far. Of course, ours is small potatoes by comparison, but we do have lots of local interest."

"You had a real good show last year," said the letter carrier. "I enjoyed it very much. You know, I was surprised you had such a great variety of exhibits."

Janice thanked him and added:

"We'll mail these then. We have to get things humming."

"Thanks a lot," said Henry. "Be sure and come to our show."

"I'll be there," he promised.

He continued on his way.

"Yes, it's spring," he told himself. "There's no doubt about it."

And the letter carrier whistled again as he moved up the street.



Are You Going to Buy a New HOME?

Buying a home is a serious proposition. Thousands of dollars are involved. You want to be sure that you are getting a house that is worth having. That means a house that has been built well—by people who know how. Union men know how. They are skilled, experienced, thorough.

Before you sign on the dotted line, make sure that the new home you are thinking of purchasing was built 100 per cent by union labor. It's easy to find out. All you have to do is check with the Building Trades Council in your community. A telephone call will give you the information you need. For your own protection and peace of mind, get the facts before you sign on the dotted line. Union families want union-built homes.